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MICHELANGELO.

BY RHYS CARPENTER.

I.

STERN and grim-visaged, gaunt, and dark of gaze,
Time crouches in the outer-world of night
Amid the shifting and entangled maze
Of dusk and star-shine and half-lightless light,
And with strong fingers moulds the unformed clay,
Ruling the refluence of night and day
With shape of sun and satellite.

All men he fashions and all living things,
All aspiration and all great desire,
The might of conquerors, the strength of kings,
The universal forces, good or dire,
The star dust blown through windy heights of space,
The glimmer from the utmost bounds of place,
The thunderous comet flight of fire.

One dream he holds forever in his eyes
And vainly strives to fashion with his hands,
A wonder world of storm unclouded skies
And mystically Spring encompassed lands,
A vision of all men become as Gods,
Unbroken with despair, unbowed by rods,
Freed of all tyrants' subtle bands.

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Ever his hands are set within the clay
To mould therein some flawless masterpiece,
Some image strong and perfect for alway;
Yet ever, when creative fingers cease
Their toil at length and Time beholds the deed,
He knows it faulty, as a rotted reed
Whereon no lips shall ever play.

Therefore all things are shattered by Time's will,
And dust, made clay, crumbles again to dust,
And nought endures forever, good or ill,
Not joy nor pain, not love nor bitter lust,
But all things pass and are forgotten all,
Like brown and sear frost-stricken leaves that fall
Before the winter wind's first gust.

Yet is not all in vain, for oftenwhile
Beneath the hands of Time some soul more fair
Fulfils existence without taint or guile
And sets his feet upon the upward Stair.
These are the artists of the world, whose breath
Blows on the spark of shifting life and death
Until the beacon fires upflare.

So wrought the hands of Time and fashioned One
And bade him live and move among mankind
And gave him sight of star and moon and sun
And cognizance of passion strong and blind,
Of visions high and fearless, and of dreams
More strange and fair than glimpse of sunless streams
Or phantom voices of the wind.

Gazing upon this child of his dim brain
Time saw him toiling on the earth below
Through pain to splendid hope, through hope to pain,
Beheld strange wonders from his dreaming grow,
Beheld men marvel at him when they saw,
Fearless and naked, without stain or flaw,
The works of Michelangelo.

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II.

We gaze on life as one who holds a glass
  Across whose surface hasten restless gleams,
Where dim processionals half hidden pass
  Through lands where no full-flooded daylight streams.
We know not what we see nor by what breath
The mirror's face is clouded as with death;
  All is but as a world of dreams.

We are engirt with mystery; our way
  Is fraught with shadow: from amazed eyes
We watch life's ocean with its flux and sway
  And of its hidden depths have no surmise.
All men alike are brought forth frail and weak,
With limbs that fail them, lips that cannot speak,
  And strength that serves but sorry wise,

Yet each man moveth into solitude
  And none shall know what thoughts his hands obey,
Nor with what might his visions are imbued,
  Nor on what height his feet tread out their way.
Imperishable thought, immortal will
Their unknown course foreorder and fulfil
  And no man sees what path they stray.

How shall we know, then, with what ardor's heat
  Lived, grew and labored Michelangelo,
Upon what upward hills he set his feet,
  How thought and dreamed? Alas, how shall we know?
For he that stoopeth at the deep stream's brink
May only from the idle surface drink
  And knoweth not the hidden flow.

And with what thoughts did he at table sit
  Within the house of that de Medici
Among whose praises foremost it is writ
  That he foreknew the sculptor that should be;
How strove he with the visions that assailed
His growing power, how triumphed and how failed,
  How prospered in his artistry?

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Waste places and great silence, barren hills,
Storm winds that rage through black chaotic deep,
Caverns unsunned, and seas which no light fills,
Gloom-darkened mountain-tops where never creep
The day's wan glimmerings, the might of fire,
Strange dreams of conquest and unknown desire,
Dark underworlds where Titans sleep,

These are the musings of colossal minds,
The touchstones of a true and noblest worth;
No lesser men may know what vision binds
Art's brows nor with what thoughts she moves on earth;
Men only see the children of her hands
And know not in what dream-encircled lands
These were conceived and given birth.

In such a world moved Michelangelo
With thoughts enpeopled by gigantic forms
And ceaseless phantoms that must come and go,
Hurled hitherward and thither by fierce storms;
And nought too harsh or hard there was on earth
Of all things unto which the sun gives birth
Or with conceptive sunlight warms.

III.

Ghiberti, Donatello dead,
There came to Florence one who strove
To hew his life where these had led;
(But lo, his eager spirit clove
A way that loosed all portal bars,
A path that brought him to the stars
And into heaven's fierce light updrove.)

With faultless eyes he viewed his fellows' task
And with sure skill and strong, unwavering hand
Set fault aright if ever these might ask;
Men say that his own master's labors, scanned
By his stern eye, were forced to yield some flaw
Which his firm brush could better, since it saw
A fairer line at its command.

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Florence, unwilling, gave him unto Rome
To rear and cherish. There he strove and wrought
And with strong footsteps ever higher upclomb
Till from the sun unearthly flame he caught.
There Rome approached with wondering, awe-struck face
His fair Madonna with her virgin grace
Above the dead Christ sorrow fraught.

Before the might of manhood, to him came
Art with her girdle, whereon hung the keys
Wherewith his hands should open doors of Fame
And enter to those hidden mysteries
Whereof no man may tell save he whose soul
Is set unwearied toward that far-off goal
Which lightens on the utmost seas:

In Florence old a mass of marble stood,
Huge and unwieldy, which no hand might tame,
Wherefrom no skill of art's full multitude
Could fashion ought of beauty, till there came
This Florentine who held no task too high
And from this shapeless stone wrought symmetry
And beauty and immortal fame.

Within the Sistine Chapel, set apart,
From all companionship, he strove and wrought,
Searching the utmost depths and heights of art
And seeking that which no man's hand had sought;
Vast mysteries of man created into pain,
The agony of evil, the world's bane,
Man's happiness that came to naught.

And when the years had sunken and his life
Turned downwards toward the waters of the West,
In that same chapel he wrought out the strife
Of good and evil, and the last behest,
The last stern judgment, which none might forfend,
The final outcome, the Titanic End,
The inexpressible expressed.

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IV.

How shall a poet play the subtle reed?
  How shall a painter weave the web of song
With words for woof? How shall the dreamer lead
  Great armies into battle? From what thong
Shall warrior loose the shaft of wisdom's bow?
Yet unto praise of Michelangelo
  Not one, but many arts belong.

His hands that cut new wonders out of stone
  Could paint the Sistine's triumph and could set
Thought's imagery within the subtle tone
  Of rhyme and rhythms such as none forget;
And he who built St. Peter's dome was he
Who guarded his loved city's liberty
  And in war's grimmest council met.

Great visions were indwellers of his mind,
  Eternal passions which transcend the years,
The laughter and the grief of humankind,
  The exaltation and the bitter tears,
The love that strikes the stars beneath its feet,
Delight, for whom all utmost praise is sweet,
  Despair, thorn-girdled, and black fears.

False lights beguiled him never, in the day
  He saw the sun and knew no lesser beam,
Within the night glittered the stars alway
  With steadfast and unalterable gleam.
What need to follow marsh-lights of the earth?
Across the heaven's immeasurable girth
  The vast eternal starways stream.

No lanterns of the deep, unlighted fen,
  No faithless lure across the floorless sedge
Led him within the kingdom of lost men
  Where rules the Marsh-king. At the pool's black edge
He stood unmoved and watched the shifting light
That strove to draw him down to endless night
  In depths where no man's net may dredge.

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False passions held him not, nor stain of lust;
He knew not envy and he kept unknown
The sight of them who ceaselessly upthrust
Hate's Gorgon head, turning the world to stone.
He lived in silence, seeking no man's praise,
And none might turn him from his changeless ways,
He wrought unresting, and alone.

All Italy was darkened when he died
And Florence was a city without light;
All men laid from them jealousy and pride
To praise this man departed from their sight;
And ever one unto another said,
"The last great sculptor of the world is dead,
The last great soul hath taken flight."

V.

Beyond all worlds within the thought of man,
Time sits before his ceaseless task and turns
The stars that, too, endure but for a span,
The light that but for some short cycle burns.
His hands destroy all things, his hands create
All things but to destruction: not in hate
But sorrow, each new toil he spurns.

St. Peter's dome shall one day be no more,
The ceilings of the Sistine Chapel fade
And all its splendor with dim mould run o'er
And all its lights be darkened into shade,
The David shall be stricken and the tomb
Of San Lorenzo visited with gloom,
Marble and dust be equal made;

And men of some strange other race than ours
Shall wander in the alien hills of Rome,
And where St. Peter's was shall blossom flowers
To hide the ruins of a shattered dome;
Then fame of Michelangelo shall be
As far-off clamor of an unknown sea,
As whisper of the wind-swept foam.

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Peace! peace! against immutable decree
Strive not in idle battle, for thy sword
Shall shiver into shards, and Destiny
O'errun the world plain with her phantom horde.
What knowledge hast thou of the Faultless Plan,
What vision of the purposes of man,
That thou shouldst turn against thy lord?

Thou canst not say unto what final end,
What triumph or what sorrowful despair,
Thine own life moves and thy poor efforts tend,
Or whether thine own deeds are false or fair.
And if of this man's toil no stone remain,
Canst thou yet say that he has wrought in vain
With visions woven out of air?

For genius is not as the lightless spheres
That move forever round one central sun
In changeless motion through unchanging years
And must alway return whence they begun,
But as some splendid flame-enveloped star
Drawn inward from dusk outer-worlds afar,
Whose coming is foreseen of none:

And if the sun grow cold and earths that move
Forever in one steadfast orbit's reign
Be lost in shadow, shalt thou therefor prove
No limit to the shadowland's domain,
Or say there is no space transcending space?
Nay; set no mournful issue to thy race;
Genius has never been in vain;

Through thronging pathways where dull planets turn
It moves upon the fierce wings of its flight
Till full against the sun its passions burn,
Then wheels and thunders outward into night,
Beyond the furthest planetary spheres,
Beyond the cycles of the changing years,
Into unfurrowed fields of light.

RHYS CARPENTER.

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HIDE-AND-SEEK POLITICS.

BY WOODROW WILSON.

THE political discussions of recent years concerning the reform of our political methods have carried us back to where we began. We set out upon our political adventures as a nation with one distinct object, namely, to put the control of government in the hands of the people, to set up a government by public opinion thoroughly democratic in its structure and motive. We were more interested in that than in making it efficient. Efficiency meant strength; strength might mean tyranny; and we were minded to have liberty at any cost. And now, behold! when our experiment is an hundred and thirty-odd years old, we discover that we have neither efficiency nor control. It is stated and conceded on every side that our whole representative system is in the hands of the "machine": that the people do not in reality choose their representatives any longer, and that their representatives do not serve the general interest unless dragooned into doing so by extraordinary forces of agitation, but are controlled by personal and private influences; that there is no one anywhere whom we can hold publicly responsible, and that it is hide-and-seek who shall be punished, who rewarded, who preferred, who rejected,—that the processes of government amongst us, in short, are haphazard, the processes of control obscure and ineffectual. And so we are at the beginning again. We must, if any part of this be true, at once devote ourselves again to finding means to make our governments, whether in our cities, in our States, or in the nation, representative, responsible and efficient.

Efficiency, of course, depends largely upon organization. There must be definite authority, centred in somebody in particular whom we can observe and control, and an organization built

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upon obedience and co-operation, an organization which acts together, with system, intelligence, and energy. We were afraid of such an organization at the outset. It seemed to mean the concentration of authority in too few hands and the setting up of a government which might be too strong for the people. Our chief thought was of control. We concluded that the best means of obtaining it was to make practically every office elective, whether great or small, superior or subordinate; to bring the structure of the government at every point into direct contact with the people. The derivation of every part of it we desired should be directly from the people. We were very shy of appointments to office. We wished only elections, frequent and direct.

As part of the system,—we supposed an indispensable part,—we defined the duties of every office, great or small, by statute and gave to every officer a definite legal independenec. We wished him to take his orders only from the law,—not from any superior, but from the people themselves, whose will the law was intended to embody. No officer appointed him and no officer could remove him. The people had given him his term, short enough to keep him in mind of his responsibility to them, and would not suffer any one but themselves to displace him, unless he became himself an actual breaker of the law. In that case he might be indicted like any other lawbreaker. But his indictment would be a family affair; no discipline imposed upon him by his superiors in office, but a trial and judgment by his neighbors. A district attorney, elected on the same "ticket" with himself, would bring the matter to the attention of a grand jury of their neighbors, men who had in all likelihood voted for them both, and a petit jury of the same neighborhood would hear and decide the case if a true bill were found against him. He stood or fell by their judgment of the law, not by his character or efficiency.

A sheriff in one of the States suffered a prisoner to be taken from him by a mob and hanged. He made no show or pretence even of resistance. The Governor of the State wrote him a sharp letter of rebuke for his criminal neglect of his duty. He replied in an open letter in which he bluntly requested the Governor to mind his own business. The interesting feature of the reply was not its impudence, but the fact that it could be written with perfect impunity. The fact was as he had stated it. He was

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not responsible to the Governor or to any other officer whatever, but only to the voters of his neighborhood, many of whom had composed the mob which took his prisoner from him and hanged him at their leisure. He was never called to account for what he had done.

This is a sample of our direct responsibility to the people as a legal system. It was very serviceable and natural so long as our communities were themselves simple and homogeneous. The old New England town meeting, for example, was an admirable instrument of actual self-government. Where neighborhoods are small and neighbors know one another they can make actual selection of the men they wish to put into office. Every candidate is known by everybody, and the officers of government when elected serve a constituency of whose interests and opinions they are keenly and intimately aware. Any community whose elements are homogeneous and whose interests are simple can govern itself very well in this informal fashion. The people in such a case, rather than the government, are the organism. But those simple days have gone by. The people of our present communities, from one end of the country to the other, are not homogeneous, but composite, their interests varied and extended, their life complex and intricate. The voters who make them up are largely strangers to each other. Town meetings are out of the question, except for the most formal purposes, perfunctorily served; life sweeps around a thousand centres, and the old processes of selection, the old bases of responsibility, are impossible. Officers of government used to be responsible because they were known and closely observed by neighbors of whose opinions and preferences they were familiarly aware; but now they are unknown, the servants of a political organization, not of their neighbors, irresponsible because obscure, or because defended by the very complexity of the system of which they form a part. The elective items on every voter's programme of duty have become too numerous to be dealt with separately and are, consequently, dealt with in the mass and by a new system, the system of political machinery against which we futilely cry out.

I say "futilely cry out" because the machine is both natural and indispensable in the circumstances and cannot be abolished unless the circumstances are changed, and very radically changed at that. We have given the people something so vast and compli-

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cated to do in asking them to select all the officers of government that they cannot do it. It must be done for them by professionals. There are so many men to be named for office; it is futile to name one or two unless you name a whole ticket; the offices that fill a ticket are so many and so obscure that it is impossible the thing should be done informally and offhand by direct, unassisted popular choice. There must be a preliminary process of selection, of nomination, of preparing the ticket as a whole, unless there is to be hopeless confusion, names put up at haphazard and nobody elected by a clear majority at the end. The machine is as yet an indispensable instrumentality of our politics.

Public opinion in the United States was never better informed, never more intelligent, never more eager to make itself felt in the control of government for the betterment of the nation than it is now; and yet, I venture to say, it was never more helpless to obtain its purposes by ordinary and stated means. It has to resort to convulsive, agitated, almost revolutionary means to have its way. It knows what it wants. It wants good men in office, sensible laws adjusted to existing conditions, conscience in affairs and intelligence in their direction. But it is at a loss how to get these. It flings itself this way and that, frightens this group of politicians, pets that, hopes, protests, demands, but cannot govern.

In its impatience it exaggerates the inefficiency and bad morals of its governments very grossly and is very unfair to men who would serve it if they could, who do serve it when they can, but who are caught in the same net of complicated circumstance in which opinion itself finds itself involved. There is no just ground for believing that our legislative and administrative bodies are generally corrupt. They are not. They are made up for the most part of honest men who are without leadership and without free opportunity; who try to understand the public interest and to devise measures to advance it, but who are subordinate to a political system which they cannot dominate or ignore. The machinery of the bodies to which they belong is inorganic, as decentralized as our elective processes would lead one to expect. No one person or group of persons amongst them has been authorized by the circumstances of their election to lead them or to assume responsibility for their programme of action. They

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therefore parcel out initiative and responsibility in conformity with the obvious dictates of the system. They put their business in the hands of committees,—a committee for each subject they have to handle,—and give each of their members a place upon some committee. The measures proposed to them, therefore, come from the four quarters of the heaven, from members big and little, known and unknown, but never from any responsible source. There can be neither consistency nor continuity in the policies they attempt. What they do cannot be watched, and it cannot be itself organized and made a whole of. There is so much of it and it is so miscellaneous that it cannot be debated. The individual member must do the best he can amidst the confusion. He has only an occasional part and opportunity.

He is controlled, as a matter of fact, from out-of-doors,—not by the views of his constituents, but by a party organization which is intended to hold the heterogeneous elements of our extraordinary political system together.

When public opinion grows particularly restless and impatient of our present party organization, it is common to hear it defended by the argument that parties are necessary in the conduct of a popular government; and the argument can be sustained by very sound and eloquent passages out of Burke and many another public man of the English-speaking peoples who has seen below the surface of affairs and convinced us of the real philosophy of our form of government; but the argument is quite aside from the point. Of course parties are necessary. They are not only necessary, but desirable, in order that conviction upon great public questions may be organized and bodies of men of like opinion and purpose brought together in effective and habitual co-operation. Successful, orderly popular government is impossible without them. But the argument for our own particular organization of parties is quite another matter. That organization is undoubtedly necessary in the circumstances, but you cannot prove its necessity out of Burke or any other man who made permanent analysis of liberty. We could have parties without organizing them in this particular way. There have been parties in free governments time out of mind and in many parts of the world, but never anywhere else an organization of parties like our own.

And yet that organization is for the time being necessary. It

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centres, as everybody knows, in the nominating machinery. There could be no party organization if our elective system were literally carried out as it was intended to be, by the actual direct and informal selection of every officer of government, not by party agents or leaders, but by the scattered voters of the thousand neighborhoods of a vast country. It was necessary to devise some machinery by which these innumerable choices should be co-ordinated and squared with party lines. It was a huge business and called for a compact and efficient organization.

Moreover, there was more than the process of selection to be overseen and directed. Students of our political methods have not often enough brought into their reckoning the great diversity of social and economic interest and development which has existed among the different sections and regions of this various country, which even yet shows every stage and variety of growth and make-up and an extraordinary mixture of races and elements of population. It has been necessary to keep this miscellaneous body together by continual exterior pressure, to give it a common direction and consciousness of purpose by sheer force of organization, if political action was not to become hopelessly confused and disordered. It was not conscious of any immediate solidarity of interest or object. It might have broken up into a score of groups and coteries. We might have had more parties than France, as many sections of political opinion as there were distinctly marked regions of population and development. Party interest has been kept alive, party energy stimulated, by entrusting to local agents and leaders the duty of seeing to it that systematic party nominations were regularly made and urged upon the voters by organized campaigns, whether there was any natural reason or not why, in any given locality, this party or that should be preferred; and national parties have been pieced together out of these local fragments. The creation of the parts was necessary to the creation of the whole. I do not know how else co-ordinated parties could have been made out of such heterogeneous materials and such diversified interests.

The result has been that the nominating machinery has become the backbone of party organization. By it local leaders are rewarded with influence or office, are kept loyal, watchful and energetic. By it national majorities are pieced together. If one goes back to the source of this matter, therefore, it is easy to see

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that the nominating machine was no barnacle, but a natural growth, the natural fruit of a system which made it necessary to elect every officer of government. The voter has not the leisure and, therefore, has not the knowledge for the difficult and intricate business. He cannot organize a government every year or two, make up its whole personnel, apply its punishments and rewards, effect its dismissals and promotions. Neither is there any officer or any group of officers of the government itself who can organize it for him, for no officer has the legal authority. The structure of the government is disintegrated by the law itself, so far as its personnel is concerned. The constitutions and statutes by which the officers are created endeavor, of course, to integrate their functions; but they disintegrate their personnel by making each officer the direct choice of the voters. The only possible means of integration lies outside governments, therefore, and is extra-legal. It is the nominating machine. The machine applies the necessary discipline of administration and keeps the separately elected officers of one mind in the performance of their duties,—loyal to an exterior organization.

The punishment it inflicts is definitely and clearly understood. It will not renominate any man who when in office has been disobedient to party commands. It can in effect dismiss from office. Any one who wishes to remain in public life, at any rate in the smaller and less conspicuous offices within the gift of the managers, must keep in their good graces. Independence offends the machine deeply, disobedience it will not tolerate at all. Its watchfulness never flags; its discipline is continuous and effective. It is the chief instrument of party government under our system of elections.

Thus have we necessitated the setting-up outside the government of what we were afraid ourselves to set up inside of it: concentrated power, administrative discipline, the authority to appoint and dismiss. For the power to nominate is virtually the power to appoint and to dismiss, as Professor Ford has pointed out in his lucid and convincing "Rise and Growth of American Politics." It is exercised by the bosses, instead of by responsible officers of the government,—by the men who have charge of the nominating machinery: men who are themselves often entirely outside the government as legally constituted, hold no office, do not ask the people for their suffrages, and are picked out for

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their function by private processes over which the people have no control whatever. They are private citizens and exercise their powers of oversight and management without any public invitation of any kind. Just because there are innumerable offices to be filled by election, just because there are long and elaborate tickets to be made up, just because it needs close and constant attention to the matter to perform the duty of selection successfully,—as careful and constant attention as the superintendent of a great business or the head of a great government bureau has to exercise in selecting and keeping up the personnel of his factory, his office, or his bureau,—it cannot possibly be done by the voters as a body. It requires too much knowledge and too much judgment, bestowed upon little offices without number as well as upon great. No officer of the government is authorized to appoint or select. Party managers must undertake it, therefore, who are not officers of the government; and their nominations are virtual appointments if they belong to the successful party. The voters only choose as between the selections, the appointees, of the one party boss or the other. It is out of the question for them to make independent selections of their own.

If this machine, thus bossed and administered, is an outside power over which the voter has no control,—which he can defeat only occasionally, when, in a fervor of reform, he prefers the candidates of some temporary amateur machine (that is, nominating apparatus) set up by some volunteer "committee of one hundred" which has undertaken a rescue,—it is the system which is to blame, not the politicians. Somebody, amateurs or professionals, must supply what they supply. We have created the situation and must either change it or abide by its results with such patience and philosophy as we can command.

Our efforts at reform have been singularly misdirected. For years we labored at the reform of the ballot itself, as if the way we printed it and the way we voted it were at fault. We adopted the so-called Australian method of voting, for example; isolated the voter in a closed booth, made it as easy as possible in the circumstances for him to mark and alter his ballot unscrutinized and unmolested, and passed laws which gave groups of voters not formally organized as parties the right to put names in nomination on the official ballot which had not passed through the party caucus or any other part of the machine. Finally in many of

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the States where the ardor of non-partisan action was warmest, we forbade the placing of any party sign or symbol at the head of the list of candidates printed on the official ballot, contrived a blanket ballot on which the names of all nominees were printed in impartial alphabetical order under the names of the several offices for which they had been nominated, so that the voter,—such was our unsophisticated hope,—might choose the best man for each office without regard to who had nominated him, whether a regular party machine or a group of independent voters nominating by petition. I have seen a ballot of this kind which contained seven hundred names. It was bigger than the page of a newspaper and was printed in close columns as a newspaper would be. Of course no voter who is not a trained politician, who has not watched the whole process of nomination carefully, who does not know a great deal about the derivation and character and association of every nominee it contains, can vote a ticket like that with intelligence. In nine cases out of ten, as it has turned out, he will simply mark the first name under each office, and the candidates whose names come highest in the alphabetical order will be elected. There are cases on record where shrewd seekers of office have had their names changed to names beginning with some letter at the head of the alphabet preparatory to candidacy on such a ballot, knowing that they had no chance of election otherwise. And of course politicians govern themselves accordingly in choosing a winning ticket. They are always the professionals, whatever system of choice you oblige them to employ, and always know better than any one else the actual results of the processes used.

It is very desirable to have secret voting to protect the voter against scrutiny or any kind of coercion, direct or indirect; it may be very desirable to have non-partisan nominations; but no secret or non-partisan device can make it possible for the voter to use such ballots intelligently or to pick out his own candidates for office when there are a multitude of offices to be filled. It is the size and variety of the ballot that perplexes and baffles him, be he never so intelligent and never so anxious to vote for the best candidates. He cannot possibly make himself acquainted with the individual claims of the men whose names appear on these long lists. Many of the offices he is voting to fill are themselves as obscure as the men who have been nominated

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to occupy them. He is not interested in the list as a whole. A few conspicuous names upon it, candidates for the greater offices, he may have heard something about, a candidate for Congress or for the Governorship of his State, but the rest are mere names to him. It is impossible that he should discriminate. He is excusable if he presently comes to think of the whole thing as a farce and for feeling that, do what he will, the politicians will take him in. He has in any event no choice but to put himself in their hands. It is too occult a business for him to fathom.

The result is the unchecked power of the irresponsible politician; and some of the consequences are painfully interesting. Since the choice of candidates for office is a matter of private arrangement; since nominees thus chosen are our lawmakers, and our lawmakers by the same token appointees of the nominating machine, it follows very naturally that public business loses its public character and becomes itself a matter of private arrangement. It is settled in private conferences at State capitals and at Washington, not by public discussion, and the voters are informed what was actually agreed upon after an election, not before it. The Secretary of the Treasury smilingly informed a public audience the other evening that the monetary commission of which Senator Aldrich is chairman, and which is expected to recommend to Congress well-considered measures for the reform of our banking and currency systems, would probably not make its report until after the next Congressional elections. The plain inference was that the commission thought it best, before making its report, to wait and see which party would be in control of Congress, and thought it imprudent to let their conclusions be known before the elections for fear that they might in some way affect the result. In short, they deemed it best that the people should not be given an opportunity to discuss or express an opinion upon their own affairs, upon some of the most important and far-reaching questions now awaiting their decision! Judge by the sample. Elections must be managed by the subtle alchemy of nomination, with as little regard to public questions as possible, and then the appointees of the successful managers must decide those questions in the best interest of the party in power.

It is thus that the public business is managed with as careful privacy as the business of any private corporation. Corporations

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will, indeed, when they are well and wisely managed, often take the public more into their confidence than the managers of government do, in order to enhance the credit of the corporation and increase or steady the value of its securities in the money-market, as well as the sale of its products. But politicians are very secretive. They have become so by the habit of the system. Debate has fallen out of fashion in our legislative assemblies because the business of those assemblies is for the most part discussed and prepared by committees. The sittings of their committees are seldom public, except upon extraordinary occasions. Even when they are public few persons except those directly and privately interested attend, and the matter is too particular, too much like a mere single item of the session, to attract the attention of the ordinary newspaper. The business of legislation, therefore, like that of nomination, is for the most part conducted in private by the conference of small groups of men under party discipline. The public is not present either in fact or in thought. Committeemen get into the habit of being reticent and silent about what occurred in the committee-room and soon find themselves under the impression that it is their own private affair, anyway.

The habit spreads to the deliberative bodies themselves. Boards of Aldermen will often refuse to open their debates to reporters or to publish the names of those who voted *Aye* or *No* in the division when the debate was ended. And on the administrative side much of what is to be done or proposed is agreed upon by private conference between the executives of our cities and States and the party managers,—sometimes the managers who appear in public and are known, sometimes those who keep in the background and occupy no office, but are nevertheless omnipotent in matters of nomination and who wish the executive business of the government to be carried on in a way which will not embarrass them. And so, wherever we turn, we find the intimate business of government sealed up in confidences of every kind: confidences against the people with regard to their own affairs; confidences with regard to the way in which their interests are to be served and safeguarded. Public discussions are the mere formal dress parade of politics.

It was very amusing, when Mr. Roosevelt was President, to notice how seasoned politicians shivered when he spoke in pub-

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lic,—shivered at his terrible indiscretions, his frank revelations, whenever he chose, of what was going on inside political circles, his nonchalant failure to keep any confidences whatever that he chose to make public use of. He spoke of any inside matter he pleased, as if it were the people's privilege to know what was going on within their government. He may have chosen and chosen very astutely which confidences to keep, which to break, but he was strong and popular in proportion as he broke them and gave the people the impression that he was really telling them all he knew about their business, about the men and the motives which were retarding the proper transaction of their business and the proper correction of the abuses under which they were suffering at the hands of men who enjoyed the confidence and protection of the managing politicians.

There is no ground for wonder that under a system under which it is constant hide-and-seek to discover who is responsible, to find out where public action originates and whither it is tending, this system of confidences should have sprung up. I do not know that any one in particular is to blame. But the situation is certainly extraordinary and makes it thoroughly worth while to inquire how the people may be reintroduced into their own affairs.

It is high time. The people must be brought into their own again. They have been excluded from free and effective participation in their own governments too long,—so long that a universal distrust of representative methods of government has sprung up, a universal suspicion that there is nowhere any candor or honesty in the administration of public business, and we are in danger of revolutionary processes, of very radical changes which might be as futile as what we have already attempted by way of reform, while all the while a remedy, a very simple remedy, is at hand. We have not fallen upon these evil ways by any one's sinister intention or machinations, but the fact is the same. The system we are under, though nobody invented it to cheat the people, has grown up and does cheat the people and must be done away with by very definite intention.

There is no reason to despair, or even to tire, of representative government. It has not failed, as some suppose, because it is representative and not direct. It has come near to breaking down only because it is not representative, only because the people of this country are prevented by the system of elections in which

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they have become entangled from electing representatives of their own choice. The people of other countries are not prevented. They manage to get their will very directly expressed, alike in legislation and in the administration of their governments. Foreign cities, for example, succeed excellently well, as well as it is reasonable ever to expect to succeed in matters of such magnitude and complexity, in getting their affairs administered in the way a majority of their people really wish them to be administered. Most of the badly governed cities of the civilized world are on this side of the Atlantic, most of the well governed on the other side; and the reason is not accidental. It has nothing to do with differences of capacity or of virtue or of theory, nothing to do with differences of principle or of national character. It results from differences of organization of the most fundamental and important kind which cut to the very roots of the whole matter.

Let the city of Glasgow serve as an example. It is known as one of the best-governed cities in the world, is a thoroughly modern city teeming with factories and with the movements of a great commerce and handling a vast population under many a natural disadvantage, and its government is not in any essential particular peculiar to itself. It is a sample, though a favorable sample, of the way in which most European cities, great and small, are governed. Its administration is entirely in the hands of its municipal council, which has a membership of thirty-two. The mayor of the city has no independent executive powers. He is merely chairman of the council and titular head of the city when it needs a public representative on formal occasions, when it welcomes guests or undertakes a ceremonious function. There is no upper and lower chamber of the council: it is a single body. It is not a legislature. No city council is. It is an administrative body conducting the business of a great chartered corporation. Its members are elected by the voters of the city by wards, one councilman for each ward. The voter's connection with the government of the city is very simple. He votes for only one person, the councilman from his ward. That is his whole ticket.

In its simplicity lies his power. He does not need the assistance of professional politicians to pick out a single candidate for a single conspicuous office. Any group of interested or public-

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spirited neighbors can do that. And the simple structure of the city's government enables him to follow his representative throughout every vote and act of administration. The council divides itself into committees, a committee for each branch of the city's business. All the actual executive servants of the city are appointed and are the responsible agents of the several committees under which they serve. All business is public, whether transacted by the council as a whole or by its committees. Everything that is done or agreed upon is published in full in the "Glasgow Herald," with the votes taken and the names of those who voted this way or that. By a mere glance at his morning paper the voter can keep his eye upon his own particular representative and know what he is doing, whether in the council or in the committee to which he has been assigned. His votes speak for themselves. His responsibility is unmistakable. Another candidate may easily be nominated if his record is unsatisfactory and a whole campaign centred, so far as that ward is concerned, upon the definite question of a choice between this man and that. That is representative government. If all the officials of the city government, or even the chief of them, were elected upon a common ticket it would not be. A machine would be necessary, amateur or professional, and the direct representative principle would, in fact, disappear.

The same idea underlies one of the most interesting reforms that has recently been undertaken in our own cities. Following the example of Galveston, in Texas, a number of our cities have obtained from the legislatures of their States charters which authorize them to put their administration entirely in the hands of a small commission consisting generally of only five or six persons. The voter's attention is concentrated upon this commission both at election-time and throughout the course of its administration. This ticket of five or six names is the only ticket he is called upon to vote. The results have in several cases been extremely satisfactory, though the experiment has nowhere been of long enough standing to justify the formation of a confident or final judgment as to its ultimate effects. The commission has felt the responsibility and has responded to it. The voters have known by whom they were being governed and the nominating machine has, of course, sunk into insignificance. It remains a question, however, whether the load imposed upon the commission

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is not too heavy, whether it is fair to hold so small a body of men wholly responsible for the successful administration of a modern city. Can five men, by any feasible division of labor, so long as a working day has only a limited number of hours in it and every man must take a little sleep and recreation, master the affairs committed to their charge in sufficient detail really to keep them clear of inefficiency and abuse? It will probably turn out that it requires a considerably larger body of men really to direct and control matters of such magnitude and variety. But that need not result in putting a greater burden on the voter and bringing the nominating machine again into existence as his indispensable assistant and ultimate master. He need not be made to vote for the whole body upon a common ticket. He need only vote for the representative from his own ward. The essential thing is that his task should be comprehensible and manageable, that the men he is called upon to vote for should be so few that he can select them for himself or at least easily judge the action of those who do select them.

That this is the simple and effectual solution of the matter, the certain means of restoring to the people a genuine choice of representatives and by the same token a genuine representative government, is no matter of conjecture. It has been tried,—in every country but our own, until we began to set up governments by commission,—and has had the desired result. It is not a panacea. It is a conclusion of obvious common sense. If the trouble is that we have given the people an impossible task in asking them to choose the whole personnel of our governments, and have thereby put them in the hands of persons to whom they are, by reason of its very complexity, obliged to depute it, the obvious remedy is to make their task simple and practicable, to make it something that they can do and can take an interest in doing without neglecting their daily business and turning politicians. We have been mistaken,—this is the long and short of the matter,—in supposing that we were giving the people control of their governments by making all offices elective. We actually, as a matter of fact and of experience, put them in control only when we make only the chief, the really responsible offices elective, allow those whom we elect to appoint all minor officials, all executive agents, and hold them strictly responsible as the superintendents of our business. Our own experience has been very

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instructive in this matter in particulars which we have not enough observed. For example, the Governor of New Jersey, like the Governors of one or two other States of the Union, is entrusted with the power of appointing all the judges of the State, and the bench of New Jersey is famous for its excellence, much more famous than the bench of neighboring States whose judges are elected. The State has had Governors good, bad, and indifferent, but all alike have made excellent appointments to the bench. They could share the responsibility with no one and it was a very conspicuous responsibility. In that matter if in no other the eye of public opinion was centred upon them personally, not merely upon their party. They could not venture to do that thing ill or in the interest of any coterie or machine. It always operates so, though we have not always taken note of the fact or understood the scope of the inference.

The short ballot is the short and open way by which we can return to representative government. It has turned out that the methods of organization which lead to efficiency in government are also the methods which give the people control. The busy owner is more effectually in control if he appoints a capable superintendent and holds him responsible for the conduct of the business than he would be if he undertook himself to choose all the subordinate agents and workmen and superintend both them and the superintendent; and the business is also better conducted,—incomparably better conducted. What the voters of the country are now attempting is not only impossible, but also undesirable if we desire good government. Such a charter as that of the city of New York, for example, is a mere system of obscurity and of inefficiency. It disperses responsibility, multiplies elective offices beyond all reason or necessity, and makes both of the government itself and of its control by the voters a game of hide-and-seek in a labyrinth. Nothing could have been devised better suited to the uses of the professional politician, nothing susceptible of being more perfectly articulated with the nominating machine. As a means of popular government, it is not worth the pother and expense of an election.

Simplicity is necessary in government as in business, for unity, for responsibility, for efficiency, and for control: these four are, indeed, as a matter of experience, almost interchangeable and equivalent words. You cannot form or execute a judgment either

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in business or in politics without some such system of coherence and simplicity.

Simplicity does not involve, in the case of government, a return to any of the abuses we have partially corrected. We did begin at the wrong end when we devoted the ardor and labor of years of reform to the mere reform of the existing civil service, to the introduction of a system of qualification for appointment to office by examination. We should have begun by making more offices appointive and the business of appointing so conspicuous and responsible a thing that those who undertook it could not afford to make appointments upon any principle of favoritism, could not afford to serve their own private objects in making them or any private interest whatever. But responsible officers need not object, will not object, to being themselves protected and assisted by a system of qualifying examinations for appointment. They should and probably would prefer it. It is a sensible and serviceable system and secures the public service against many a minor abuse which might creep in even if those who made appointments made them with full responsibility to public opinion,—in the fierce, revealing light that beats upon every act of personal power. The instrumentalities we have already created would prove more serviceable than ever.

It is a very interesting and very vital thing to have come back to our original problem, to be obliged thus to become once more thoughtful partisans of genuine democracy. The issue is nothing less. What we need is a radical reform of our electoral system, and the proper reform will be a return to democracy. It is the high duty of every lover of political liberty to become a partisan of such a reform if once he becomes convinced of it. Another great age of American politics will have dawned when men seek once more the means to establish the rights of the people and forget parties and private interests to serve a nation.

WOODROW WILSON.

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THE MULTIFARIOUS AUSTRALIAN BALLOT.

BY PHILIP LORING ALLEN.

A STANDARD political reference-book is authority for the statement that forty-two of the forty-six States of the American Union use the "Australian ballot" in their elections. If this is true, then the election machinery of Australia would seem to be quite as varied and remarkable as the flora and fauna of that continent. As a matter of fact, the expression "Australian ballot" is used here in two senses. In a restricted sense it is applied to the particular form which America borrowed from Australia and which the State of Massachusetts led the way in adopting in 1889. But it is also used to designate any secret ballot printed and furnished by the State. In this broader significance it is applied to forms which have scarcely another single characteristic in common.

The plan of voting which was abolished in all but a few of the States during the ballot-reform movement of the early nineties was substantially that which most clubs and associations use for electing officers and corporations in choosing directors. A ballot was simply a piece of paper bearing the names of the persons voted for and the various offices to be filled. Anybody could print such ballots and persuade as many voters as he could to cast his particular kind, though as a matter of course the party organizations prepared the vast majority of those voted. Three Southern States have never abandoned the old system and still allow the casting of unofficial ballots which may be "written or printed or partly written and partly printed." The average Georgian or South-Carolinian deposited in November of 1906 a ballot prepared for him by the local representative of the Democratic party, exactly as he may have cast in one of the New York insurance company elections a ballot prepared for him by

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the International Policy-holders' Committee or his own insurance agent.

The fact that most American voters were accustomed to voting a whole party ticket at a single operation explains how the true Australian ballot came to be modified in this country. The ballot reformers proposed a method by which a thick and thin Republican, for example, should on election day vote first for a Republican Governor, then for a Republican Lieutenant-Governor, then for a Republican Secretary of State, and so on, until he finished his ballot by voting for a Republican poundmaster. It was very plausible for the politicians in communities accustomed to the "vest-pocket ballot" to say: "No; we like your plans for a secret vote. We like your plans for purifying the polls and for insuring a fair count. But we do not like your idea of scattering the nominees of a party all over a blanket sheet. We will adopt your safeguards and we will make the ballot official, but we will follow the form of our old familiar party slips, simply arranging them side by side on a blanket sheet like yours."

In John Fiske's "Civil Government," published in 1892, facsimiles were printed of the new Massachusetts ballot and the adaptation of it as used in Kansas. The former placed the candidates for each office within a "box" or wide printed border by themselves, arranged in alphabetical order, each followed by the name of the party nominating and a space in which the voter was to make his "X" mark. The Kansas ballot, on the other hand, assembled the names of each party's nominees, from the highest down, in a column headed by the party name in large letters. In all other respects the ballots were on an exact parity. No method was provided for voting all the names in one of these party columns *en bloc*. Just as in Massachusetts, the elector had to make his mark for every candidate of his choice, whether these were all in the same column or selected from several columns. The difference was then in typography rather than in principle.

The real divergence came when the party column ballot was again modified by the addition of a circle or square at the head of each column by means of which a "straight ticket" could be voted at a single operation. The emblems which in many States have also been placed at the head of the party columns, though often criticised, serve a perfectly legitimate purpose as a guide to the illiterate.

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Thus originated the two chief forms of ballots used in this country. They are illustrated in Figs. 1 and 2,* which are not facsimiles of the styles used in any States, but embody the characteristic features. The first makes no concession to the party beyond designating the organization which placed each candidate in nomination. The smallest of minor parties, by nominating a candidate named Abarbanell, gets his name in the most conspicuous place. The district leader and the Good Government Club member who wants, possibly, a Republican President, a Democratic Governor, an Independent District Attorney and a

* FIGURE 1.

GOVERNOR.	Mark One.
Charles T. Apgar.....Prohibition	
Samuel E. Briggs.....Socialist	
Arthur Fuller .....Democratic	
Henry Zabriskie.....Republican	

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.	Mark One.
Howard Arnold.....Republican	
Clarence P. Snyder.....Socialist	
George Van Derzee.....Prohibition	
John W. Young.....Democratic	

The Massachusetts-Australian ballot. All candidates on an absolute equality.

FIGURE 2.

REPUBLICAN.		DEMOCRATIC.	
O		O	
	Governor, Henry Zabriskie.		Governor, Arthur Fuller.
	Lieutenant-Governor, Howard Arnold.		Lieutenant-Governor, John W. Young.
	Secretary of State, Edward Marshall.		Secretary of State, Steven Byrne.
	State Treasurer, S. Frederick Crocker.		State Treasurer, Timothy Gregg.

Essential features of party-column ballot as used in nearly half of the States, including New York.

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Prohibition Sheriff are put to precisely the same amount of time and trouble in voting. The second form (Fig. 2) is frankly partisan. "Most men are adherents of some party," say the advocates of this ballot, "and their right to vote as they wish with the least possible trouble is paramount." This style of ballot always puts the man who goes outside a single party column at a disadvantage. How much of a disadvantage depends upon the rule for marking. To illustrate, in New York City four years ago Mr. Jerome, an Independent candidate for District Attorney whose name stood by itself in the last column of the ballot, was seeking votes among the adherents of all three of the important city tickets. His supporters claimed that a mark in any one of the straight-ticket circles and an additional mark opposite Mr. Jerome's name was a legal vote for him and also for all the candidates in the chosen party column except the nominee for District Attorney. Tammany contended, however, up to the eve of election, that the only legal way of splitting a ticket was to mark every favored candidate separately. If the Jerome nominators were correct, and the party circle was for the use of split-ticket as well as straight-ticket voters, then two marks would be enough to vote for Jerome and one of the party tickets. If Tammany was right—and the rule for which it contended prevails in several States—then the same vote would require the marking of sixteen names. By no construction of the law, however, could a Jerome voter be put on an exact equality with the strict partisan.

These are the differences between the "reform" ballot and the avowedly partisan sort. There exists, however, a third class of ballots which are neither one thing nor the other, and these are in some respects the most interesting of all. Wherever there has been popular confusion between the essentials and the non-essentials of ballot reform, politicians have taken advantage of that confusion to pass laws granting the shadow and not the substance. They want to discourage straying from the party fold. Consequently, they want to continue the premium on perfect regularity. It may be that civic organizations are demanding the adoption of a non-partisan ballot. "What is it you want?" ask the politicians. Suppose the reformers answer as follows: "Abolish the party column. Abolish the party emblem. Place all candidates' names under the various offices. Arrange them in

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alphabetical order. Nothing less will satisfy us." Every one of these things may be granted without really conceding anything of value to the Independents if only a few modifications in the interest of "convenience" may be made at the same time. Pennsylvania and Colorado afford excellent examples of ballots made in this way. Pennsylvania uses the Massachusetts ballot, the "pure Australian type," with only the addition of a set of party squares at one side of the sheet. This does not look in the least like the New York ballot, yet the straight-ticket voter is favored in just the same way by being relieved entirely of the necessity for scrutinizing and marking separately his various candidates. In Colorado (Fig. 3)* the same result has been secured in an even more original fashion. This State also has what looks

* FIGURE 3.

To vote a straight party ticket, write within the blank space immediately here—under the name of the party you wish to vote for.

I hereby vote a straight————————ticket except where I have marked opposite the name of some other candidate.

If you have voted a straight ticket above and place a cross mark (×) opposite any name below, such cross mark (×) will be counted for that candidate and the vote cast for the candidate on the straight ticket for the same office will not be counted, etc.

FOR GOVERNOR.		Vote for One.
Charles T. Apgar.	Prohibition.	
Samuel E. Briggs.	Socialist.	
Arthur Fuller.	Democrat.	
Henry Zabriskie.	Republican.	
FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.		**Vote for One.**
Howard Arnold.	Republican.	
Clarence P. Snyder.	Socialist.	
George Van Derzee.	Prohibition.	
John W. Young.	Democrat.	

The Colorado plan. In the election contest of 1904 experts testified that they could identify individual "secret" ballots by the handwriting in which the party name was inserted.

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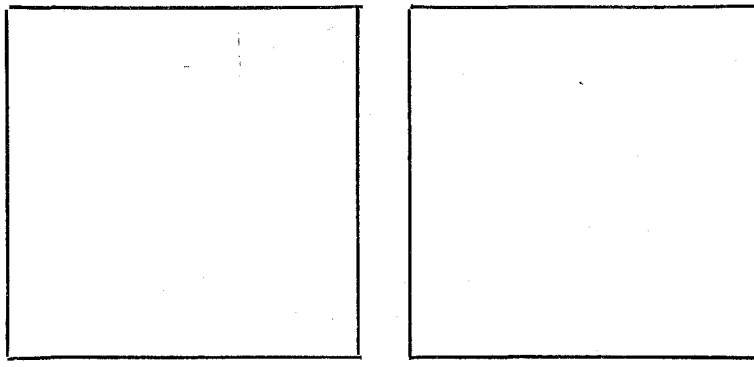
like a model ballot, but it is robbed of its virtue by the printed line at the top which makes the voter declare: "I hereby vote a straight ———— ticket, except where I have marked opposite the name of some other candidate."

It has thus been easy to devise official ballots which, with the general appearance of the pure Australian form, possess none of its advantages. But this has not been the only opportunity of the ballot-tinkers. They can also turn out a party column ballot which does not possess even the good qualities of that openly partisan instrument. In all the forms thus far mentioned the voter has the privilege, under some regulations, of voting for any candidate named on the ballot by simply making a mark opposite that candidate's name. Even this privilege can be taken away, however. The Maine ballot (Fig. 4)* illustrates how it may be done. It will be noticed that, while there is a huge party square at the head of each column, there are no small marking-

* FIGURE 4.



REPUBLICAN.	DEMOCRAT.
For Governor, Henry Zabriskie of Rockland.	For Governor, Arthur Fuller of Saco.
For Representative to Congress, Levi G. Hinds of Kennebunkport.	For Representative to Congress, Peter A. Ferguson of Berwick.
For Clerk of Courts, Nathaniel Hart of Eliot.	For Clerk of Courts, William Perkins of Skowhegan.
For Sheriff, Robert C. Freeman of Eastport.	For Sheriff, T. Jefferson Stokes of Dill.

A party column ballot which makes it as troublesome to split a ticket as if the names of alternative candidates were not on the sheet at all.

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spaces opposite the individual names. This is because the Maine law permits no skipping from one column to another. The voter designates whichever column he pleases, but all his voting must be done in that column. The name of Stokes may be next to that of Freeman, but if the man who has marked in the Republican square wants a Democrat for Sheriff, he must erase Freeman's name and insert Stokes's just as if it were not on the ballot at all. In spite of the use of the blanket sheet, the process of ticket-splitting is here exactly the same as in the States like Missouri, where there is a separate official slip for each party, and the voter, having chosen one slip, must alter it, if he prefers some candidate of another party, by "pasters" or the writing in of the name.

From ballots designed to make difficult the voting of any but a straight party ticket, it is a natural step to ballots designed to make difficult the voting of any but one particular party ticket. In this direction also American ingenuity has done much with the primitive Australian form. The party emblem has been mentioned as a legitimate aid to the illiterate voter. Its absence is equally an aid to the party which has the larger proportion of members who can read and write. Maryland, a State which has a large negro population and no educational qualification for voting, has the pure Massachusetts ballot, alphabetical order and all, except in eleven counties, where even the party designation is dropped and the several candidates stand simply as individuals. Yet this outwardly impartial arrangement is the much execrated "trick ballot." Perfectly simple to any one who can read and write and knows the names of the candidates he means to vote for, these styles have been regarded simply as puzzles by the illiterate negroes and as subjects for party trickery by many of the politicians. In 1904 nearly four thousand Republicans mistook the square opposite the name of their first Presidential elector for the square which voted all eight *en bloc,* and on this account forfeited the other seven Presidential votes to the party really in the minority. All manner of stories are told of the devices resorted to under this perverted ballot law. The names of candidates have been shuffled without warning so that the ignorant voter could not be told to vote according to their position. Names have been printed in old English and other unusual type. The "Repudiation" party was extemporized and put candidates in nomination in order to bewilder negroes who had been laboriously

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taught to recognize the word "Republican." One Maryland Congressman is said to have established schools in which negro voters were taught to recognize his Christian name "Sydney" by the two "ox yokes,"—the Y's—and just as he had succeeded another "Sydney" was nominated against him by petition so there would still be confusion.

The favorite plan for making one party vote sure and mixing up all the others is simply to eliminate all emblems and designations and then place the chosen party's nominees in every instance first. It then requires neither intelligence, literacy nor care to vote that ticket. All three are needed to vote any of the others. As an extreme example, the official ballot used in Florida at the last Presidential election (Fig. 5)* may be cited. There were five Presidential electors then to be chosen and four parties made nominations. The names were printed in small type, one below the other, with no mark whatever to indicate where one party's group ended and the next began. It was easy for a Democrat to put crosses opposite the first five, but the Populist had to begin with number eleven and check to number fifteen, inclusive. Nearly half the Populists and Socialists in Florida and about one-fifth of the Republicans failed to mark their electors correctly as a result of this blind arrangement.

Given the complete election returns of ten or twenty or thirty States, it would be perfectly possible, without any previous knowledge of the several laws, to separate those using non-partisan ballots from those using partisan ballots. The latter would show in almost all cases a uniformity which is the delight of the party manager. The total vote for one office is almost the same as the total vote for every other office. Add together the figures for all the Republican candidates for the Assembly and you have very nearly the Republican vote for Governor. Only some very strong motive will produce any wide discrepancy between the pluralities of candidates on the same ticket. In States of the other class all manner of fluctuations will be found, irregularities that correspond exactly to the variations of popular feeling and interest. A popular candidate with a good record will run, as a rule, considerably farther ahead of an unpopular colleague with a bad record than he will in the States using the party circle. Not so many electors will vote on the unimportant offices as on the important.

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It is in such a comparison that the real affinities of the "compromise" ballots here described betray themselves. A ballot of the party column style, but without the party circles, such as Kansas abandoned but Montana has still, affects the returns in just the same way as that of Massachusetts. On the other hand, when an "alphabetical" ballot has had party circles added, the statement of vote will present just the same parallelisms and equalities which indicate the workings of the familiar party column type.

There are several State Legislatures in which ballot reform is a prominent issue. In every one there will doubtless be a proposal to adopt the pure Australian ballot. Then will arise some one to say: "Give us perfect equality between the independent voter and the party man by all means, but do it by making it easier to vote a split ticket, not harder to vote a straight one." As a piece of practical advice this familiar counsel is altogether meaningless. If Mr. A wants to vote for a single candidate outside his own party, he cannot, under any conceivable ballot law, express his purpose with less than two marks, and so long as he must make two marks he is not on an equality with Mr. B, who can vote his ticket with one. If only the absolute and not the relative convenience of voting is to be considered, it may be admitted at once that the party column ballot which Governor Hughes advised the Legislature of New York to abolish makes it as easy to split a ticket as any form that can be devised. The only trouble is that it makes straight ticket voting still easier. If equality between them is worth securing, it can be practically secured by taking away the straight ticket circles, whether the ballot that is left has the group by offices or the party column, emblems or no emblems.

* FIGURE 5.

OFFICIAL BALLOT.

General Election Nov. 8th, A.D. 1904.
Precinct No. 12, Leon County, Florida.
Make a cross mark (×) before the
name of the candidate of your choice.

For Representative in Congress 3d Congressional District.

Vote for One.

William B. Lamar.

Geo. R. Smith.

Lambert M. Ware.

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

Vote for Five.

H. P. Bailey.

J. E. Grady.

T. A. Jennings.

A. B. Newton.

F. B. Stoneman.

C. F. Buffman.

A. E. Dole.

Daniel L. McKinnon.

Thomas R. Moore.

Geo. K. Robinson.

Alonzo P. Baskin.

J. S. Whitney.

E. D. Baker.

Geo. W. Holmes.

G. A. W. Wendell.

A. V. Putman.

M. F. Zeller.

William R. Shields.

A. M. Cushman.

John M. Stanley.

FOR GOVERNOR STATE OF FLORIDA.

Vote for One.

Napoleon B. Broward.

W. R. Healey.

M. B. Macfarlane.

Part of Florida ballot in 1904, when nearly half of the Populist and Socialist voters failed to mark their Presidential electors correctly.

PHILIP LORING ALLEN.

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THE EARLIER PLAYS OF BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

BY A. C. SWINBURNE.

For any man born only a little lesser than the greatest, a little lower than the angels or the gods of song, it is the heaviest and most enduring of all conceivable misfortunes to have been rated for a time among them if not above them. That a Jephson or a Tate, a Cibber or an Ibsen, should for a moment be compared or preferred to Shakespeare by any howling dervish or laughing jackass of letters is a matter of no moment: that men of genius should ever have been thrust forward as claimants for so ridiculous a promotion is only too certain to impair or to imperil, it may be for only too many generations, the recognition of their genuine claims to honor. That typical Oxonicule, the Rev. William Cartwright, "the most florid and seraphical preacher in the university," not only damned himself to everlasting fame, but did what in him lay to damn the reputation of Fletcher by assuring his departed spirit that "Shakespeare to thee was dull," obscene, inartistic and scurrilous: dull as compared to the author of "The Nice Valour," obscene as compared to the author of "The Custom of the Country," inartistic as compared to the author of "The Sea Voyage" and scurrilous as compared to the author of "The Scornful Lady." The criticism is worthy of Matthew Arnold: and even he could not have surpassed it in perversity of cultivated impertinence and audacity of self-erratic conceit. But time has always done justice, when time was needed to do justice, on the academic aberrations of complacent incompetence and overweening culture. It is of far more importance that justice should be done to the victims of their admiration. To be dispraised is nothing: to be mispraised may be dangerous. Justice has never been done to Beaumont and Fletcher since the days in which their

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work was set up against Shakespeare's. It is time to consider so rich and various a treasure as they have bequeathed us without consideration or recollection of the fact that their garnets were once preferred to Shakespeare's rubies, their pearls to his diamonds. No other dramatic treasury can boast of so magnificent a display in quantity, in quality and in variety of jewels.

It must be allowed that no expert in gems would have given much for the first sample of their workshop. The generous and cordial friendship of Ben Jonson could hardly have applauded so crude and juvenile a study in his school of comedy as "The Woman-Hater." It is readable, absurd and amusing: I cannot think that much more can be said for it. The rather dreary and mouldy Spanish tradition of jocularity on the subject of hunger and gluttony revives here in a final renascence of farcical effect which may charitably be found not altogether unworthy of a tolerant rather than of a sympathetic smile: but the protagonist is a mere monomaniac, and the heroine is too eccentric to pass muster except as a type of the very newest and oldest of new women whom we may meet in the pages of Aristophanes or the columns of the "Times."

In the tragedy of "Thierry and Theodoret" a new touch is felt—a new voice is audible. There is here no trace of Jonson's influence; nor is there any sign of Shakespeare's except in so far as we may say that all subsequent good work in tragedy must inevitably bear witness to the effect of Marlowe's example and of his. For this is good work, as well as new: the impetuous and continuous rush of the fluent and fervent verse is only the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual ardor, headlong and heedless of reflection or restraint, which impels the writer's genius along its passionate and breathless course. Even if, as has been plausibly suggested, the staider and less vehement hand of Massinger may here and there be traced, this play is on the whole about the finest and the fullest evidence left us of Fletcher's magnificent but far from supreme power as a tragic poet. The men are nothing: at least, they are but rough and rudely colored sketches. The abnormal wickedness of Brunhalt, the abnormal goodness of Ordella, give all the life and interest to the tragic action that readers can ever find in it or that spectators ever can have found. It is not quite human life: for the interest excited is hardly in human nature. But, such

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as it is, the interest is unflaggingly sustained, and the style is as admirable in its impulsive fashion as is the style of Marlowe and Shakespeare and Webster in the nobler and more serious manner appropriate to higher and sincerer inspiration.

Something more of such inspiration is perceptible in Philaster: and yet, leaving Shakespeare out of the question, we find here no figures comparable for creative power and living truth to Faustus and Edward, to Vittoria and Bracciano, the Duchess and her brothers. The boyish or feminine incapacity to draw even in outline, to paint even in monochrome, the likeness of a man, which is here so unmistakably displayed, was evidently no evidence of inferior power, no reason for inferior regard, in the estimate of contemporary admiration. Among all their tragic or serious heroes we may look in vain for the life-like figure of a conceivable and acceptable man. A gallant and roistering humorist they could paint better and more delightfully, with more contagious sympathy and more audacious truth, than even the great Dumas himself; but the finest type of heroic manhood imaginable by either is a knight of Malta; an Origen in armor; a hero who renounces manhood. Philaster is something worse: he is hardly the shadow, the phantom, the wraith of a living man. The she-page Bellario is simply the loveliest and most interesting of all dramatic hermaphrodites from Shakespeare's Viola down to Wycherley's Fidelia: it is curious and significant that Beaumont and Fletcher could never create a man or a woman so attractive as this fantastic and pathetic figure, whose unquestionable and inimitable charm of perfect purity and more than manly womanhood threw so strange a fascination over the stage that it was a less outrageously than pardonably extravagant exaggeration of the truth which Lamb allowed himself in the assertion that "for many years after the date of Philaster's first exhibition on the stage scarce a play can be found without one of these women pages in it." Certainly, as he adds, "our ancestors seem to have been wonderfully delighted with these transformations of sex." But, after all, it must be admitted that the vital and enduring fascination of this beautiful and famous play depends less on character or on incident than on the exquisite and living loveliness of the style—most attractive when least realistic, most memorable when least dramatic.

The authors of "The Maid's Tragedy" succeeded in showing

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themselves at all points superior to the authors of "Philaster." Their poetic power is equal in charm and more perfectly adapted or subordinated to the demands of dramatic art, the laws of theatrical evolution or construction. That they could not draw even in outline the figure of a man—that a protagonist of heroic mould, such as Marlowe's Faustus or Webster's Virginius, was not only unpresentable, but inconceivable by the purely passionate and impulsive nature of their tragic genius—this masterpiece would suffice to prove, even without the evidence of their later tragedies. The heroes, or rather the passive and the braggart figures of manhood proposed for our acceptance as the heroes of the play, are not above the rather lamentable level of Philaster. But the sinners are better than their elders; Pharamond and his Megra are little more than the sketches of a hot-blooded and headlong boy if set against the vivid, vigorous outlines of Evadne and her king. Yet, exquisite though it is as a poem, this famous tragedy is the first example of an English play in which all other considerations are subordinate to the imperious demands, the dominant exactions, of stage effect. Evadne is the one thoroughly credible and thoroughly realized figure in the play: a bad woman who might not have made so bad a man. Of the two heroes it can only be further said that Amintor is abject and Melantius absurd: the king is now and then as theatrical in villainy as they in virtue, and Aspatia is not so much a woman as a mouthpiece and a subject for poetry incomparable in its kind. Shakespeare and Webster did not find it necessary and did not feel impelled to make their heroines talk so lyrically and evoke from other and minor figures such effusion of elegiac eloquence. In the earlier scenes she says now and then something that could not have been bettered by Webster or even by Shakespeare: but she never has enough of life and truth in her to stand beside "one of Shakespeare's women"—or of Webster's.

That Fletcher or any of his friends should have thought it probable or possible for "The Faithful Shepherdess" to find favor on the stage is the most wonderful and unimaginable witness we could have to the delight of an English audience in pure and absolute poetry throughout the age of Shakespeare—during the generation that reaches from the sunrise of Marlowe to the sunset of Shirley. That the loveliest of all pastoral plays ever set by fancy in the frame of a fantastic Arcadia should have

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evoked by its failure such noble tributes of indignant admiration from contemporary poets is an accident which may well be held worthy of rejoicing and thanksgiving by all who believe that sympathy and gratitude rather than defamation and envy are natural to all men not utterly ignoble and all competitors not utterly incompetent. The difference between this poem and Milton's exquisitely imitative "Comus" is the difference between a rose with a leaf or two faded or falling, but still fragrant and radiant, and the faultless but scentless reproduction of a rose in academic wax for the admiration and imitation of such craftsmen as must confine their ambition to the laurels of a college or the plaudits of a school. The figures who play their parts on the woodland stage of this fairyland theatre are hardly amenable to criticism as actual or possible men and women. The lover whose love is curable by compliance and destructible by the destruction of his idol's ideal inaccessibility would be absurdly misplaced in the world of comedy or tragedy: in the world of fancy, a world made up of poetic artifice and tradition, he is a perfectly appropriate and coherent figure, native to his fantastic element. To the same world the constant Clorin and the wanton Cloe so unmistakably belong that the serious application of an ethical standard to their conduct or their characters is as inept as a poet's objection to the unimaginative realism of mathematics or a mathematician's to the sterile impotence of poetry if applied to the proof of a theorem or the solution of a problem. The most exquisitely appreciative and the most nearly infallible of critics fell surely for once into inconsistent partiality and untenable paradox when he objected to the contrast of the lascivious with the virginal shepherdess on the score that "such weeds by juxtaposition do not set off but kill sweet flowers," and defended the outrageous obscenities of "The Virgin Martyr" on the plea that they "have a strength of contrast, a raciness and a glow in them which set off the religion of the rest, somehow as Caliban serves to show Miranda." Such dunghill weeds as those were never planted or watered by Fletcher.

It is curious from the historic or literary point of view that the first burlesque ever presented on our stage should still be so very much the best. "The Knight of the Burning Pestle" is at least as superior to "The Rehearsal" at all points as the fifth act of "The Chances" substituted by the author of "The Re-

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hearsal" for Fletcher's original fifth act is superior in dramatic force, character and humor to that hasty and headlong scrawl of a sketch. The seemingly incongruous interfusion of serious and sometimes noble poetry might have been expected to destroy the broad comic effect of parody and raillery which it actually heightens. The good old city poet whose cockney heroics it made no unkindly fun of, and whose homely power of pathetic realism was a quality altogether beyond the reach of Beaumont or of Fletcher, might have smiled without wincing at so good-humored and hurtless a caricature of his counter-jumping paladins.

In theatrical magnificence of incident and effect "A King and No King" is as supreme a triumph as is "Othello" or "King Lear" in poetic sublimity and spiritual intensity of truth made manifest and awful in beauty as in terror to all ages of mankind. To say that there is nothing more in it would be shamefully and stupidly false: there is much beautiful writing and much brilliant vivacity of charm. But all serious study of character, all rational or moral evolution of conduct, is wantonly if not shamelessly sacrificed to the immediate effect of vehement if not sometimes galvanic sensation or surprise. The outrages on human possibility in the parts of Gobrias and Arane, the magnanimous murderess in design and the virtuous promoter of a supposedly incestuous passion, would have been impossible to any other poet and even to any other playwright of genius in any way comparable either with Beaumont or with Fletcher. That any soldier king was ever such a blatant braggart and swaggering swashbuckler as Arbaces might surely have been questioned, as now perhaps it may not be, in the days of the poets who decked out his crazy and feather-headed vanity with the splendid plumage of rhetorical rhapsody which, as Macaulay long since observed, so singularly anticipates the discoveries of modern mechanism.

The peculiar boyishness which distinguishes alike the tragic and the comic genius of Beaumont and Fletcher, but more especially the tragic work of Fletcher and the comic work of Beaumont, displays itself most amusingly in the once-famous parts of the three beaten braggarts which in their day were classed with the incomparable figure of Bobadil. The far from subtle or exquisite humor of kicking and cudgelling may have been caught from the example of their illustrious friend and occasional model, Ben

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Jonson: but the lightness of touch, the buoyancy of burlesque, must be allowed to give it a tone of contagious pleasantry which the heavier hand of the more serious artist has not given and perhaps did not care to give. The veriest horse-play of farce in the broadest scenes of Beaumont and Fletcher has more of good-humor and harmless or, anyhow, spiteless merriment than is to be looked for in the elaborate and deliberate brutality of such an unsavory masterpiece as "The Silent Woman."

The eccentric tragedy of "Cupid's Revenge" has always been a butt for the shafts of sarcasm rather than criticism. It is certainly somewhat grotesque and amorphous if not abnormal; we cannot be surprised that both Campbell and Dyce should have dismissed it with a bitter word of scorn. But a far greater than they or than any other critic of our great dramatic poets has not only embalmed its noblest passages in the deathless amber of a priceless volume, but has selected it for the supreme honor of a condensed rendering into narrative prose after the fashion of his incomparable "Tales from Shakespeare." The rough and ready improvisation which reduces to a far lower level all the huddled and headlong later part of the play is as evidently due to enforced haste or natural weariness of the work in hand as is the inferiority of the latter part of Marlowe's "Jew of Malta" to the magnificent beauty and power of its opening scenes. To imagine in either or in any such case the necessary or the probable intervention or intrusion of a foreign hand and a feebler touch is a facile and uncritical evasion rather than explanation of a problem suggested by the naturally inevitable inequality of the finished parts with the hurried parts of even a great writer's work, when casually compelled to write against time for the stage or for any other pulpit or tribune required for the utterance of whatever he has to say. But no pantomimic absurdity in the opening and no convulsive debility in the closing scenes of the play can efface or should be allowed to affect the impression of the two scenes between Leucippus and his mistress before and after his chivalrous and mendacious affirmation of her virtue has resulted, during his absence at the seat of war, in her marriage with his father: a situation treated with characteristic frankness, but handled with exceptional delicacy. It may be remembered that Mr. Samuel Pepys, on August 17th, 1668, "saw 'Cupid's Revenge,' under the new name of 'Love Despised,' that

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hath something very good in it, though I like not the whole body of it." The somewhat eccentric judge who preferred Tuke as a dramatic poet to Shakespeare at his very highest was on this occasion exactly and excellently right. He and Lamb ("Powers eternal! such names mingled!") have alone been just in their expressed or implied judgment of this otherwise unlucky play.

There are some pretty lines thrown away here and there on the not very brilliant masque in celebration of the ill-omened nuptials of Prince Rupert's ill-starred mother; but Beaumont would perhaps have done as well to leave such work to the stronger and more inventive hand of his friend Ben Jonson, whose influence for good and evil, or at least for better and for worse, is evident in Beaumont's part of the "Four Plays in One," which we must regret to remember as the only surviving example of a form of dramatic entertainment to which a horrible as well as terrible little work of relentless and realistic genius never to be unquestioningly rejected from the Shakspearean Apocrypha must pretty certainly be admitted to belong. From what context of companion plays or playlets such an inhuman or at least such a merciless masterpiece of condensed and concentrated horror as "A Yorkshire Tragedy" can have been detached by its publisher or its author, no imaginable student above the lowest level of brainless and frontless duncery will care or will presume to conjecture. In the present unique instance it would not be difficult for the youngest possible reader of average intelligence to distinguish and to determine the parts assignable to Beaumont from the parts assignable to Fletcher. The Jonsonian induction is Beaumont's: he was never worse employed than in imitation of his great friend Ben: *exemplar vitiis imitabile* if ever there was one. No one but a poet born could have written "The Triumph of Honor," though he could only have written it during a transitory eclipse or collapse of his better powers; no one but an imitator of Ben Jonson when least happily inspired could have scribbled the farcical part of it. "The Triumph of Love" should have been a beautiful and pathetic play instead of a beautiful and pathetic sketch: but as it is we must gladly acknowledge that one lovely scene in it has been overpraised neither by Charles Lamb nor by Leigh Hunt. "The Triumph of Death," in which there certainly is no suggestion of loveliness or pathos, is a

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superb example of Fletcher's vehement and fervent, though neither gentle nor sublime, genius for passionate and headlong tragedy. "The Triumph of Time" is a survival of the unfittest—a revival of the obsolete morality play, not improved by a dash of the contemporary masque. It is by no means worthless: but its author would probably have been the first to admit that it was not worth very much.

The noble and cordial verses in which Ben Jonson expressed the fervor of his love for a younger friend who had shown such religious devotion towards him should be borne in mind by the reader who cannot but think that the "religion" so affectionately acknowledged and so generously requited did not bring forth any very sweet or savory fruit in the rather too Jonsonian comedy of "The Scornful Lady." In all the curious and interesting history of opinion—of moral and intellectual change and progress and reaction—there is nothing more singular than the variations of view among intelligent and honorable men as to decency and indecency, morality and immorality. It must surely be now incomprehensible to any student of letters or of ethics that so unquestionably good and true a man as Dr. Johnson should have denounced the noble and natural story of "Tom Jones" as a "corrupt" book, and agreed with the clergy of his day in commending to decent readers the infamous and abominable story of "Pamela." If the one is sometimes blunt, the other is always vile. "The Scornful Lady" is, of course, not so ignoble and impure an abortion of immorality as Richardson's shamelessly shameful book; and in a rough way it is a vigorous and memorable example of the very broadest comedy: but alike in matter and in manner, in language and in character, it is undeniably the coarsest work of its authors. And yet it was so long held comparatively blameless that this particular discredit has generally been transferred to a far less offensive work of more graceful if still somewhat graceless audacity in treatment and in humor. Even Wycherley, if at his worst more basely and brutally immoral, was hardly more impudent in theatrical invention or device of daringly and undeniably comic effect.

The strange and straggling tragi-comedy of "The Coxcomb" is as unadvisedly and as singularly misnamed from the idiotic protagonist of the uninterestingly extravagant underplot as is a far more memorable example of dramatic poetry, the master-

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piece at once of Middleton and of Rowley which was somehow most absurdly misbaptized as "The Changeling." In the gentle and devoted heroine of the more serious part there is a touch of simplicity and sweetness, in devotion and submission, of daring and of patience, which distinguishes her as a daughter of Beaumont's genius from the more vehement and voluble children of Fletcher's. Another play which is no less obviously a compound work, not less interesting and not less insufficient to satisfy a serious and grateful admirer of their sometimes rather idle and irregular genius, is "The Honest Man's Fortune." The hero is a nobler and manlier type of manhood than any of Fletcher's when left to work by himself; but the movement and ease and spontaneity of the action in all but his very worst and hastiest and most puerile plays, if not even in those rather pitiful puerilities of invention and execution, will hardly be found in this more serious and ambitious poem. The two heroines are admirably sketched rather than admirably painted: but the simplicity and nobility of nature apparent and consistent in them both would be not less hard to find in the more theatrical and conventional heroines of Fletcher's later plays. There are noble passages and magnificent couplets in the little poem appended to this play: it would be difficult if not impossible to match them for moral dignity and for majesty of expression in any other work of Fletcher's: but few readers will probably agree with Leigh Hunt that they suffice to corroborate or to justify the expressed regret of Coleridge that Beaumont and Fletcher had not devoted their genius and their time to writing poems rather than to writing plays.

The ingrained and ineradicable juvenility of mind which distinguishes them from all other men of true and splendid genius is or should be at once apologetically and amusingly patent if not obvious to the readers of that admirably written comedy so childishly misnamed "The Captain": misnamed from a Jonsonian figure of farce who is once happily humanized by generous sympathy and pity for the supposed sufferings of an elder soldier. The monstrous and abnormal criminality of the almost incredible heroine is more like the impudent fancy of a naughty boy than the corrupt imagination of a depraved man. But so bright and lively a piece of work would in common scholastic justice be set down so decidedly to the youngster's credit as to be deservedly

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set against the discredit if not the disgrace due to the juvenile audacity of his immature imagination. And the first scene of cajolery in which the woman's magnificent art of passionate hypocrisy is brought to bear upon a half-conscious and half-reluctant victim, a would-be dupe who cannot dupe himself, is finer than anything I know of the kind in prose or poetry before the advent of Balzac's almighty and ever-living Valérie. Madame Marneffe is as matchless as Madame de Merteuil: but the patrician or the plebeian she-devil of immortal fiction might have given a smile of sympathy if not a hand of sisterhood to the hardly less terrible harlot of an English poet's invention.

In the magnificent melodrama or tragi-comedy of "The Little French Lawyer," it would be impossible to overpraise the brilliancy of invention, the deftness of composition or the splendor of execution: but the brutality of boyhood is as evident as its joyfulness. From any other hand the ruffianly insolence which derides the infirmity of a veteran hero in the public street would be unendurable and unpardonable; but here the merciless infidelity of the bride who has played false to her earlier and younger lover makes it intelligible if inexcusable. And here the incomparable and inimitable lightness of touch which impairs the tragic work and glorifies the comic work of Fletcher must be allowed by all intelligent or æsthetic judges to redeem the offence which would else be given to the moral or ethical critic of the superb result or outcome of his weakness and his strength—his inevitable limitations and his magnificent capacities. The juvenile horse-play of practical jokes which animates at once the serious comedy and the rampant farce of this dazzling and delightful poem, a poem in which no alloy of grave or of humorous prose can anywhere be found latent or apparent, contrives in some inexplicable if not inexcusable but bewitching if not irresistible fashion to succeed somehow in fusing them together with such instinctive alchemy of inspiration as to yield by way of product or result a deathless if not blameless masterpiece of comic poetry.

It is impossible to imagine that the author of this most brilliant and buoyant and high-spirited piece of work can have had anything to do, or that his even more glorious friend and compeer can have had anything to do, with one of the dullest and feeblest plays surviving—another survival of the unfittest—from the

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marvellous and matchless harvest of their time. The Apocrypha of the Scripture bequeathed to us by Beaumont and Fletcher may be more easily and more decisively tested and gauged and disposed of than the Apocrypha of Shakespeare's. That the bright and pleasant comedy of "The Widow" is Middleton's work alone will hardly be questioned by any reader whose time would not be better spent on even the most futile of employments or diversions than in the study of poetic or comic drama: and the most conscientious examination will only find in "The Faithful Friends" a passage or a verse here and there which may charitably be thought not quite bad enough for an old Sharpham or a new Shakespeare. It is perhaps not so utterly worthless and hopeless a failure as "Cupid's Whirligig" or "Thomas Lord Cromwell." But it is sad stuff.

The riotous and outrageous farce of "Wit at Several Weapons" is such a play as might conceivably have been written in his nonage by a bastard son of Ben Jonson who had inherited more of the worse than of the better qualities, intellectual and moral, of his illustrious father. Even Ben, whose indignant humor so often concerned itself with crime, would hardly have introduced at the very opening of the action as a figure of pure comedy a veteran in villainy who boasts to his own son of his early successes as a professional pimp, and his later gains by the robbery and ruin of little children confided to his guardianship. This is the most seriously and odiously revolting passage in all the various and voluminous work of these great dramatic poets—or of any that I can remember among their fellows. And this comes of taking life and character too lightly and too stagily. The play is throughout a very slight and rather childish piece of work, with some touches in it of fun rather than of humor—unless there be humor in a schoolboy's pillow-fight. But the intended fun of the opening could only seem funny to an exceptionally ill-conditioned schoolboy. It is only fair to add that some of the heroine's tricks and shifts to rid herself of an idiot suitor and attract a hesitating lover are really not unworthy to remind the reader of Molière in his broader and rougher mood of practical pleasantry.

The genius of Beaumont and Fletcher for pure comedy was at its nadir in "Wit at Several Weapons": in "Wit Without Money" it rises easily and visibly to its radiant zenith. The

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matchless instinct of expression, the incomparable lightness of touch, which distinguishes its best work from all other triumphs of poetic comedy in the language, carries off and sweeps away all too curious or serious consideration of character or conduct. But, indeed, if the protagonist is a somewhat too extravagant figure of humorous extravagance when he joyously makes away with his brother's fortune as well as his own, the younger brother is so noble a fellow when he refuses to resent his ruin, or to forget the finer qualities of his reckless and rapacious elder, that this single figure should suffice to confute all charges ever brought against his creator or his twin creators on the score of immoral incompetence to conceive or to present a morally attractive and admirable young English hero. Even Shakespeare—to say nothing of Jonson, who in this race is quite out of the running—can show no other to be set beside him.*

The curious laxity with which educated and able men will fling about epithets when engaged in critical comment is rather singularly exemplified in the terms applied by Dyce as well as by Hallam to so magnificent a work of comic and tragic genius as "The Custom of the Country." Dryden's previous attack on it as compared with his own dirty and greasy comedies and those of his brighter but not less unsavory rivals may be dismissed with a brief expression of regret that so great a writer should have shown himself so small a critic—so stupidly shameless in misjudgment alike from the moral or ethical and from the intelligent or æsthetic point of view. "The very grossest" (as Mr. Dyce unhappily miscalls it) of all these plays is beyond all question "The Scornful Lady." "The Custom of the Country" is certainly almost as audacious a comic poem as is even the alarmingly fearless and morally rather than immorally impudent "Lysistrata": but coarse or obscene it is not. There is not a dirty word in it: not a touch, not a whiff, of Swiftian or Carlylesque impurity.

When some forgotten fool observed to Byron that Italian was an easy language, the supreme and final and unapproachable master of serio-comic poetry replied with unusual good sense

* Why Frank should be sometimes called Francisco is as insoluble a mystery as why the word "else," a word as necessary to the sense as to the metre, should have been persistently omitted by all editors in the penultimate scene of this comedy. "Do not allure me," says Valentine when secure of his bride. "Thou art no widow of this world (else)!" Without this obvious little word the line is immetrical nonsense.

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and accuracy: "A very easy language to know badly; a very difficult language to know well." It would be no less easy to pass judgment on Fletcher as a tragic poet in a sweeping and summary fashion: it is certainly no less difficult to adjust the due balance of praise and blame, whether positive or comparative, which must determine the verdict to be passed on the admirable, though anything but impeccable, author of such tragedies as "Bonduca," "Valentinian" and "The Double Marriage." Brilliant even to splendor, ardent even to satiety, they most indisputably are. That their somewhat hectic and feverish glory cannot endure a moment's comparison with the sunlight or the starlight of Shakespeare's, of Marlowe's and of Webster's is anything but a reproach to a poet whose fame, if eclipsed, is not and can never be effaced by theirs.

The dazzling tragedy of "Bonduca" is half lit up by the flame of the footlights and half by the radiance of a magnificent if uncertain day. That it wanes and withers into the dusk of an autumnal sunset before the deathless dawn of Tennyson's almost Æschylean "Boadicea" can only be acknowledged as inevitable. That more than one or two of his contemporaries might have made out of the subject a far more perfect and a far sublimer poem is as certain as that none of them could have turned it to such triumphant account from the not ignobly theatrical point of view. But the reader of Fletcher's tragedies can never quite get away from the besetting sense of the theatre. In this, instance the incongruous and excessive admixture or immixture of broad and not always brilliant comedy deforms and degrades the tragic beauty of the nobler scenes. The death scene is splendid and memorable: but while reading it we must not remember such another and more magnificent example of poetic tribute to the sacred and heroic virtue of suicide in face of shame as Marston had set in the immolation of his Sophonisba. The best by far of Fletcher's martial heroes is Caratach: and his nephew is a much finer and more natural youngster than Shakespeare's far less life-like and lovable Arthur in "King John": who would have made us reasonably doubt whether the omnipotent hand of his creator could have created a living little boy if it had not left us at a later date the incomparable and unapproachable and adorable figure of Mamillius.

A. C. SWINBURNE.

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DEMOCRATIC FACTIONS AND INSURGENT REPUBLICANS.

BY HERBERT CROLY.

THE comparative strength, the respective principles and policies and the probable future of the two dominant American parties have recently become more than ever deserving of close scrutiny by students of contemporary politics. The new economic and political conditions, which have been intruding themselves on public attention, and the new political issues, which have been derived therefrom, are bringing with them not only changes in the trend of national policy, but changes in the standing and the outlook of the two parties which in the American political system are responsible for the formulation and execution of a national policy. Neither of these parties occupies the same situation that it did a dozen or even eight years ago; and inasmuch as their new standing promises to have very important effects upon the political future of the country, it were well to understand just what the change amounts to and what its probable consequences will be.

The advantages of a comparison of the two parties as to their respective strength are to all appearances wholly in favor of the Republican. Since it won its first Presidential election in 1860, it has failed only twice to place its candidate for President in the Executive chair. Forty-four years, that is, out of a possible fifty-two, it has controlled the executive branch of the general government, and during almost as large a proportion of the same period it has elected a majority to one or both Houses of Congress. What is the cause and meaning of this almost uninterrupted and increasing preponderance? Is there any reason for believing that it will or will not endure?

The recent ineptitude of Democratic leadership and the failure

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of Democratic political tactics must be traced to a fundamental source; and that source is, I believe, nothing else than the inadequacy of the traditional Democratic creed to the solution of contemporary political and economic problems. The social and economic changes which have gradually been accumulating since 1870 demand political and economic measures which the Democratic party cannot undertake without proving faithless to a part of its traditions; and as its leaders are necessarily and sincerely seeking to find a basis for its policy in its inherited principles, their political platforms are continually vacillating between the two horns of a dilemma. Either they propose to take certain positive action, which is from the point of view of their traditional creed unprincipled, or else they remain content with a negative policy which derives its high political propriety from the antiquity of its lineage. And no matter which alternative they accept, they disgust a certain section of their own party without convincing either the thoughtfully radical or the thoughtfully conservative element in public opinion.

Our contemporary political and economic problems seem to have taken form particularly for the purpose of bringing out the inconsistency resident in the traditional Democratic creed, for that creed is a hodge-podge of radical and conservative ideas and tendencies. The Parker wing of the party has, for instance, no right to claim that they are the true believers and that Mr. Bryan and his followers are heretics. The latter are seeking to accomplish a result which both the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy cherished as essential to the perpetuity of American political institutions—viz., the abolition of what is believed to be economic privilege; but as partisan Democrats they are embarrassed in formulating effective remedial measures, because, according to another aspect of their political tradition, the desired result should have been accomplished either automatically by free individual competition or at worst by the positive action of the State governments. The conservative Democrats, on the other hand, either shut their eyes to the danger of economic privilege or claim that the danger can still be averted by the enforcement of existing laws; and even the more radical Democrats, in proposing such remedies as a Federal license for corporations engaged in interstate commerce, are paralyzed by the influence of the tradition, which proposes to reach the consummate Demo-

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cratic social condition by means of individual aggrandizement, the rigid protection of States rights and national irresponsibility. It obviously makes any centralizing proposal with a bad conscience, and it tends either to qualify its measures into impotence or to claim that because of the purity of its Democratic motives it can apply centralizing remedies without committing the crime of centralization.

Assuming that the existing economic and political situation demands the assumption of certain additional national responsibilities, the Democracy cannot escape from its dilemma. It cannot become a national political party equipped with authoritative leadership and an adequate programme without abandoning the traditional creed, which hitherto has constituted its reason for existence. Every once in a while a group of "pure" Democrats get together, usually somewhere in New York State, and propose to rejuvenate the party and to formulate a platform on which it is sure to regain popular confidence. But the platform always proves to be a statement of traditional principles, which are supposed to be perennial because of their indestructibility, and which are indestructible only because they are continually being repeated. They are perennial, that is, only as words and because of their ability to fill gray beards with the illusions of youth. The best way to fertilize them would be to bury them for a while in the ground and to water them with a little disinterested and concentrated consideration of the real meaning of contemporary political and economic problems.

The Republicans, on the other hand, are better qualified by their partisan traditions to assume leadership during a period of national reorganization and increasing national responsibilities. The statement is frequently made that there is really no fundamental difference of principle and tendency between the two parties, but that is not true. The Republicans are by way of being more national than the Democrats, because Republicanism originated in the determination of certain Northern Whigs and Democrats to save American nationality by denationalizing the undemocratic institution of slavery; and in so doing they assumed a neglected and dangerous but essential national responsibility. The assumption of this responsibility tended to nationalize the party, in spite of the sectional residence and prejudices of its membership; and the party has shown ever since a tendency to

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remain national. This tendency has been expressed in a greater willingness to make the general government assume its share of the national responsibilities and in a larger amount of political opportunism—in the French sense of that word. Opportunism in this sense consists in a preoccupation with the national interest and a general readiness to take any action demanded by the national welfare.

Republican political opportunism has, until recently, enabled that party, far better than the Democrats, to adopt new policies without causing any serious internal dissensions. Both the conservatism of Parker and the radicalism of Bryan caused a revolt of the opposing faction, which had its justification in some untimely aspect of the party tradition. The tendency of irresponsible individualist Democracy is factious and distracting. Its adherents are instinctively far more preoccupied with their personal, class and local interests than they are in the interest of the American people, in so far as they can be collectively expressed. This tendency was disguised during the Middle Period, because the great majority of the Jacksonian Democrats were homogeneous in feeling and because their individual interests ran along similar lines; but since the war the Democrats have lost this homogeneity of feeling, interest and point of view. They have become classified; and this classification is separating the well-to-do from the wage-earning Democrat, the Eastern from the Western, the liberal from the conservative and the constitutional from the Jacobin. After such classification has taken place their party traditions do not encourage Democrats to remain together, to submit to discipline or to subordinate individual and local to general interests; and when they do secure a show of unity, it can only be on the basis of some compromise, which is often humiliating to men who believe sincerely in their own ideas. Thus the Bryan, Hearst or Cleveland Democracies, into which the party divides, are real factions, which in the end prefer party failure to success purchased by their own subordination; and any organization which is incapable to this extent of agreeing upon a partisan platform is even more incapable of formulating a national policy sufficiently representative of the contemporary national interest.

Considering the proportion of the popular vote which remains stubbornly Democratic by both interest and conviction, it would

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be absurd to predict that the party will never win another election. They may well, in the fall of the present year, elect a majority of the members of the next House of Representatives. Under certain not improbable contingencies they stand a respectable chance of electing the next President. But the assumption of power will only expose their weakness. Responsibility for action will bring out the internal dissensions, which they have not been able to conceal during a period of irresponsible agitation; and even if they are able actually to accomplish any legislation, it cannot be the expression of a genuinely national interest or idea, because ideas of that kind cannot find any sufficient nourishment in the soil of the Democratic party.

That the Democracy may have a better fighting chance of winning an election next fall than it has had for many years is due, not to its own increasing strength, but to an unexpected and most significant weakening of Republican party discipline. For the first time since the factional struggles of the early eighties the Republican party is threatened with serious internal dissensions. A definite group of Republican Insurgents has been formed in both Houses of Congress; and these rebels represent or believe that they represent a much larger proportion of the party vote than is indicated by their numbers. They are fully prepared to carry on the fight during the Congressional elections next fall, even if by so doing they endanger the success of their party.

How is this eruption of internecine warfare to be reconciled with the claims made on behalf of the Republican party as an organization capable of responsible action in the national interest and of enforcing discipline for the benefit of such action? Why is it that the gentleman now occupying the White House, who used to be known as the Secretary of Peace, has, in spite of the most amiable intentions, become a War President? Why has his conciliatory policy served only to tear his party apart, whereas the thunderbolts and lightning which played around the head of his Insurgent predecessor compelled the ostensible if not the entirely cordial submission of his party associates?

The answer to these questions calls for a more careful analysis of the contemporary national interest than has yet been attempted and a comparison of the results of this analysis with the traditional Republican national policy. Since 1865 the dominant aim

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of the Government has been the rapid economic development of the country accomplished by means of the most diversified and intense stimulation of individual enterprise. The utmost encouragement was offered to individuals and corporations to appropriate and develop the sources of wealth contained in the national domain. Laws even more liberal than those which prevailed before the war were adopted, and these laws were construed and administered with even greater liberality than they were conceived. The natural resources of the country—its land, minerals and timber—in so far as controlled by the general government, were practically given away to anybody who had the initiative to claim them or the capital to develop them. To balance this encouragement of the extractive industries, the Republicans maintained and developed an extremely high protective tariff, the object of which was the prohibition of competitive imports and the full employment of American capital and labor in every practicable branch of economic activity. By this combination of measures a complete but very artificial and overheated national economic system was built up. The country was enabled to produce a huge surplus of agricultural produce and raw materials which could be exported in order to pay for the enormous quantities of capital and labor whose importation was encouraged; and in order still further to accelerate the process, domestic capitalists were allowed a free hand in organizing the home market. They were permitted to adopt almost any business methods they pleased so long as economic activity was promoted and an apparent condition of "prosperity" was created.

It is characteristic of the impotence of the Democratic party that the effective opposition to the traditional Republican policy has gradually developed within the ranks of the Republican party itself. The first insurgent Republican of prominence was Theodore Roosevelt, and his earliest attack was concentrated upon a portion of the system which was at bottom only incidental to its main purpose. He attacked the position of economic privilege which, as he believed, certain large corporations and capitalists had acquired in the national economic system; and the popularity of his campaign prevented the more "regular" Republicans from effectually opposing it. But the agitation could not rest at that point. Any permanent and dangerous economic privileges enjoyed by individuals or corporations must depend

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upon the appropriation of certain natural resources denied to actual or possible competitors; and the fact that such resources had been thoroughly appropriated and the resulting economic opportunities exploited was a preliminary symptom that a more essential aspect of the traditional system was breaking down. The Government could no longer encourage the development of the natural resources of the country, because there were, comparatively speaking, no more natural resources to develop. The chief support of the structure reared by the Republican party suddenly collapsed, not because of any attack, but of its own inherent weakness.

The policy deliberately adopted by the Federal Government, as the trustee of the national domain, of giving away its property could not last. The incessant supplies of virgin soil, primeval timber and new mines, which were forced into competition with the older sources of supply, undoubtedly multiplied and cheapened the product so as to afford a large surplus for exportation, but it also encouraged a lavish waste of the raw materials. The trend of the policy was intimately to associate wasteful methods of production with abundance and cheapness of product and thus to divorce cheapness from economy. The effect of the waste varied in different branches of production: but it was sure at an early date to bring into operation the law of diminishing returns—that is, to threaten an eventual dimunition of supply, to decrease the exportable surplus and to enforce economy by increases in the cost of production and in prices. The evidence of this condition consisted primarily in a constantly higher cost of living, which prevented the wage-earners from enjoying any benefit from their large money wages and which was as burdensome to industry as it was to domestic life.

An inevitable result, consequently, of the movement on behalf of the conservation of American natural resources was an increasing agitation for effective tariff reform. An excessively high protective tariff contributed to the prevailing waste of the American economic system, chiefly because it encouraged the employment of capital and labor in industries which could not be conducted in this country except under peculiar disadvantages. It had gradually become an essential part of a thoroughly national American economic system that some of the capital and labor so employed should be diverted to the more thrifty pro-

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duction of the staple commodities. In the long run the additional capital and labor needed for this purpose will have to be obtained at home, because the constantly lessening exportable surpluses of natural produce will prevent the country from deriving it to the same extent as in the past from abroad.

The agitation for tariff reform, which appeared within the Republican party almost coincident with the agitation for conservation, was, consequently, by no means an accident. The bill which was passed in response to this agitation reduced certain duties which were unnecessarily high even from a prohibitionist standpoint and raised a number of duties which, high as they were, did not affect the desired object of prohibition. President Taft was apparently satisfied that the new law constituted a sufficient redemption of ante-election promises, and his satisfaction with the new law was not superficially unreasonable, because those pledges did not advance any principle of revision incompatible with a prohibitive tariff. A scale of duties calculated to give all American products an advantage in the home market sufficient for the abundant compensation of the labor and capital needed to produce them—such a scale of duties obviously means the exclusion of competitive imports. But President Taft failed to understand that public opinion was really demanding a revision which diminished the cost of the protectionist system, and because of this misinterpretation he compromised his position as the leader of the progressive wing of his party. The Republican tariff reformers with a better understanding of public opinion refused to accept the revision as sufficient; and the President's attempt to harmonize his party only gave determination and bitterness to the insurrection. If there had to be war the President should have been caught on the other side. His predecessor had placed him in a position which could be held only by fighting, but not being by disposition a warrior he instinctively tried to shirk the responsibility. The result is that he is by way of being alienated from that element in public opinion from which he should derive his strength.

If the foregoing analysis of the general situation is correct, the Republican party is facing one of the most difficult and dangerous crises of its career. Here is a party which is committed by its traditions to the formulation of a policy, genuinely expressive of the national interest, and which in the fulfilment

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of that responsibility actually formulated a policy which for many years contributed to the economic development of the country and, on the whole, satisfied public opinion. Little by little, however, it is discovered that the national interest is demanding the modification of every important element in the economic system for which the party has in the past been responsible. During a few years under aggressive leadership the "regular" party machine quieted public opinion by consenting to certain modifications in its policy, but every concession encouraged further demands and, consequently, increased the opposition of those interests connected with the party who have benefited most from the traditional system.

In seeking to determine the comparative merits of the two parties to this decisive controversy, it would be a mistake hastily to assume that they are monopolized by the Insurgents. The latter are undoubtedly fighting for certain reforms the adoption of which is essential both to the redemption of the traditional responsibility of the Republican party and to the economic welfare of the American people. But while their purposes are deserving of all praise, the spirit in which these reforms are conceived and the methods by which they are pursued are not equally meritorious. The Insurgents are seeking to realize an essentially national programme in at least a partially factious spirit. Their insurrection has been due as much to a solicitude for local as to a solicitude for national interests. They are suspicious of the East; suspicious of the patriotism of their opponents; suspicious of much in contemporary economic and political life, which is essential to American national efficiency. They have made a bugbear of monopolies and straightway suspect a monopolist behind every opposing barrier. They have not as yet thought out either the meaning of their insurrection, the consequences of their reforms or the principles which underlie their programme. They have enunciated no theory of tariff reform upon which a sufficiently drastic and effective revision can be based. They have announced no method of conservation which strikes at the essential root of American economic extravagance—at the fact that not merely a few corporations and monopolists, but almost all American producers and proprietors have been encouraged to confuse business with speculation. In short, they have all the earmarks of agitators rather than statesmen, and not one of them

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can be named (unless Theodore Roosevelt is still to be classed as an Insurgent) who is capable of inspiring general confidence and becoming a national political leader.

On the other hand, many of the "regular" Republicans, particularly a number of those most immediately associated with President Taft, are men capable of taking large views, of thinking out policies to their logical conclusion, of drawing measures of effective constructive legislation, of making efficient and public-spirited administrators and of inspiring personal confidence. They are being stigmatized as dangerously conservative, chiefly because the changes in the national economic interest and in the public opinion have moved faster than they could follow.

Finally, a doubt inevitably arises whether the legislative branch of the general government, as constituted at present, really has the ability to carry out the series of economic reforms demanded by the national interest. Both Representatives and Senators are at bottom district and State delegates in a national Legislature. Congress has succeeded in passing national legislation hitherto partly by log-rolling, partly by party discipline and partly in virtue of the fact that the national interest has been conceived chiefly as a composite version of individual and local interests. But the newer national policy demands that certain individuals and localities shall submit to temporary losses for the benefit of the national economic system, because such losses are the inevitable penalty of a change from the extravagance and waste of an overheated economy to one that is comparatively cool and hardy. A Congress composed of district and State delegates must be coerced into the passage of the necessary legislation; and the necessary coercion can be exercised only by means of stringent party discipline and the autocratic organization of both Congressional bodies. As it happens, however, Insurgent Republicanism is inimical both to party discipline and to the existing responsible (though perverted) leadership of the House and the Senate; and is thereby helping to destroy the means whereby the new national economic system must eventually be achieved. One can only fall back upon the hope that in the end the crying need for thorough-going economic reform will create the great increase in economic and political intelligence and in disinterested patriotism needed for its satisfaction.

HERBERT CROLY.

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MILITARY PREPAREDNESS.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM H. CARTER, U.S.A.

"We should have an army so organized as to be capable in time of emergency, in co-operation with the national militia and under the provisions of a proper national volunteer law, rapidly to expand into a force sufficient to resist all probable invasion from abroad, and to furnish a respectable expeditionary force, if necessary, in the maintenance of our traditional American policy, which bears the name of President Monroe."—*Inaugural address of President Taft.*

A WELL-BALANCED distribution of the influence of nations will, in the future as in the past, depend upon the ability of each to guard its interests. It is profitless to indulge in academic discussions as to the barbarity of expending national wealth upon fleets and armies, so long as those countries possessing these essentials of military preparedness continue to be the centres of the world's wealth in treasure, science and the arts. A nation blessed with boundless resources and with the energy necessary to develop them has all the crude elements of military strength. Given unlimited time, the multiplication of battleships and the creation of armies would follow along normal lines. Such a business-like proceeding is not apt to obtain, however, in these modern days.

If a nation could be committed to war only by its rulers and well-poised statesmen, there would be reasonable ground to expect that war would never be declared without preparedness. Under the influence of an inspired or hysterical press, however, public opinion may become inflamed, and masquerading as patriotism exercise an irresistible pressure upon those in authority. Not infrequently those who in peace have been the most indifferent to the duty of preparation become the most impatient for war.

History ever repeats itself. Washington had a serious time

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from start to finish, in his efforts to secure approval of his recommendations for the nationalization of the Revolutionary Army and the conduct of that struggle on a business basis. Called again to the head of the army in 1798, when war with France seemed inevitable, Washington found the Congress more amenable, but conditions still continued such that the avoidance of war was a source of deep satisfaction to him and to the country at large.

The preparation for and conduct of the War of 1812 was a severe shock to the nation's pride. Out of several campaigns checkered with humiliation and shame came the employment of one of Napoleon's most distinguished French engineers, General Simon Bernard, to whom the country is deeply indebted for the designs of the older fortifications which gave protection to our extended seacoast for half a century.

Practical experience against Indians, and the knowledge of the art of war disseminated through the Military Academy at West Point, enabled the army to plan and execute the campaigns in Mexico in a manner deserving of far more recognition than has usually been accorded to that war. The experience of the younger generation in the Mexican campaigns was of infinite value in the Civil War, but the military system based upon experience gained in the war with Mexico, and the subsequent operations of a small army of 10,000 men, disclosed many palpable defects when applied to the administration of an army of more than 2,000,000 men.

No other nation has been so lavish in expenditure for the preservation of historical records of its greatest war or so generous in making them available for students. Rivers of ink have been used in explaining the details of the various campaigns and battles, as well as the political situations which made the Civil War inevitable. How painful it is to learn from these records that, notwithstanding the enthusiastic orations of the *men* of 1860 and 1861, the great war was fought by the *boys,* whose priceless blood was poured out upon a hundred battle-fields and of whom a vast proportion were too young to vote on any of the great questions of the day.

At the outbreak of the war with Spain nearly all of those in positions of authority were veterans of the Civil War, and it was but natural that the methods which obtained in the latter conflict

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should have been once more applied. It had been forgotten that some of the most capable and experienced generals of the Civil War had expressed the opinion that the system under which they had labored was seriously defective and had advocated reform in many matters before the real experience of that war should be forgotten. The war with Spain and the long period of active service, in widely separated countries following in its wake, have added many laurels and experiences to those already gained by the army. Uniform success over an unprepared enemy has, however, served to lull the nation into a sense of security not in harmony with the existing state of the world's unrest and commercial rivalry.

In the presence of grave emergencies, no other nation has been more prodigal than America of its wealth for military and naval purposes. In normal times, however, there is no more thankless task than that of endeavoring to prove to one's fellow citizens that we should not only preserve the excellent features of past military systems, but also bend our efforts to avoid the humiliating experiences of our forebears.

The records show conclusively that the theory that every citizen of the Republic stands ready to march to its defence is wholly fallacious. Even if true, there would still remain the lamentable fact that mere readiness does not carry with it actual fitness.

Basing their opinions upon the results of all our previous experience in war, there are many patriotic men who doubt the wisdom of some recent militia legislation, especially that which forbids the calling out of any volunteers until after the organized militia has been called into service. The country is now committed to this policy, however, and if the enthusiastic officers of the National Guard can keep up working organizations in peace, there is justifiable hope that there will be no difficulty in filling the ranks at the outbreak of a popular war. With permanent appropriations of $4,000,000 annually for the organized militia, there should be no repetition of the scenes at the large mobilization camps of the war with Spain. The State organizations should be prepared to report for duty uniformed, armed and equipped, and with a reasonable proportion of men with some previous experience and training in armories and camps of instruction. This was the case with comparatively few of the regiments in 1898. The optimistic friends of the recent legisla-

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tion do not estimate, however, that the number of available organized militia answering a call for war will exceed 100,000.

As both the National Guard and volunteers are dependent upon the regular army for their models of organization, equipment and drill, it is very necessary that the organization of the war army should be fixed during peace and on lines of such simplicity as to be easily assimilated by new volunteer organizations.

The staff of an army should be based on the organization and strength of the line, with such additions as are required to provide for the first call in a war of moderate magnitude. Legislation for the army staff should include models for the militia staff, which has never had any homogeneous organization in the various States nor any proper provisions for its business training and calling into service in time of war.

The Constitution places upon Congress the authority to raise and support armies. With this authority there goes the right to full and complete knowledge as to the use of the means and money provided for military purposes by that body. Under this view, Congress has deemed it wise to place limitations from time to time upon the use of appropriations, and in this way a mass of minor provisions have come to tease the army in the administration of its affairs. The Articles of War and the Army Regulations were all that was needed formerly to carry on the business of the army. Now, however, the many technical restrictions contained in appropriations, together with the steadily growing volume of comptrollers' decisions, have cast a pall of doubt and uncertainty over all army administration, involving disbursements, which even the orders of the Secretary of War may not surcease. There is no such thing as a profit-and-loss account in army business. The constantly growing volume of paper work, known to the public as "red tape," makes it well-nigh impossible for the average officer not provided with a full office equipment to take up disbursing work in the field with any hope of having his returns passed unquestioned through the War Department and the treasury. To the untrained staff officer called suddenly into active service from a business career, the army system seems a hopeless tangle, and he soon learns that it is only those who escape accountability for public funds and stores who may depart in peace.

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At the close of every war of magnitude, nations draw conclusions as to the causes of success and not infrequently assign much importance to insignificant details and draw general conclusions from isolated experiences. Much academic discussion has been had concerning the influence of various models of guns and small-arms, the relative invisibility of uniforms and as to the comparative value of bayonet and sabre, all important details but trivial in comparison to the higher questions that must be solved for each campaign so long as success of armies is the goal.

To plan the organization or reorganization of an army capable of passing automatically from a peace to a war establishment requires a detailed study of many problems and a training in line and staff duty which has only become possible to American officers in recent years following the establishment of the General Staff.

In the past there has been no continuing body whose duty it was to keep pace with modern theories and inventions and to prepare military information in an available manner for the War Department as a whole. Congress has not wanted for advice, but in the confusion arising from conflicting opinions, often based on selfish interests, it is not surprising that military legislation has so generally consisted of a grouping of ragged compromises. All this should gradually change and such confidential relation be established between the War Department and Congressional Committees that the former may be wholly relied upon for professional assistance, leaving to the Congress the establishment of the national military policy into which the technical details shall be properly interwoven. The Congress may be generally depended upon for the enactment of legislation proper for the country's defence and for the organization of its military forces whenever the subjects are presented for consideration in a business-like way and without the antagonism so frequently arising from personal views or pride of corps.

If Americans are ever called upon to fight for national existence against a combination of foreign foes, it is possible that volunteers would exceed the available guns, but there is nothing in our past history to justify the claim. The bounty and draft records sadly discount the orators on this subject.

Our nation is committed, historically, to the volunteer system

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in peace and war. No prominent American with political aspirations has ever presumed to advocate compulsory military training, yet there can be no doubt that the adoption of State laws requiring instruction in the duties of citizenship, coupled with service in the National Guard for at least one year before exercising the right to vote, would in a few years qualify the rising generations to better comprehend and rightly value the generous liberty vouchsafed to them by the Republic.

In time of peace, no one advocates conscription for the regular army, but there has long prevailed a sincere sentiment that in the organization of its army for war the Southern Confederacy proceeded upon right lines. It is the only fair way to render a return for the nation's guarantee of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. A nation is not justified in accepting the voluntary service of its best blood, leaving others to pursue untrammelled their business careers. The volunteer and the bounty systems fall short of a fair distribution of the personal debt due a nation. The right of a rich man to buy the services of a poor man as his substitute in war ought to be branded as one of the shameless practices of the Civil War to be forever banished by a Government which has as its corner-stone the political equality of men.

The Civil War confused the Constitution-makers, who never could be brought to acknowledge the correctness of Washington's estimate of the fatal weakness of a military system based upon the availability of the untrained masses to meet national emergencies. It cost much in blood and treasure to train the great armies of the Civil War, which in the end became regulars in all but name and the equals in battle of any troops in the world. The records show many instances of regiments fighting courageously after sustaining losses of from fifty to eighty per cent. of those engaged.

That American armies of the future will be more difficult to discipline than those of the past must be apparent to thoughtful men who daily witness the decadence of respect of the rising generation for those in authority. Americans are warlike when aroused, but are not a military nation in the sense of submitting to a general and patriotic preparation for war. The cult of enthusiasm for the flag, so wide-spread in recent years, does not contain the fibre demanded by a gruelling war of long duration.

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American military problems differ materially from those of any other nation. In some respects the system of England is akin to ours, but in practice our needs are to be met only by original investigation of peculiar conditions and the application of laws designed to meet them.

Experience in all our wars has taught conclusively that it is not enough to have full organizations at the beginning of field operations. Some system of keeping the ranks of regiments filled during war must be provided. For more than a century this has always been a weak link in the military chain and it has generally broken at critical moments. Abounding evidence of this exists in the history of the Civil War, yet we are still depending upon the system of general recruitment in war which failed so lamentably then.

When history is searched with reference to specific causes of failure or lack of full success, it is surprising how much may be justly attributed to improper employment of the several arms, having due regard to the nature of the theatre of operations and to national traits and aptitudes. Generals seldom have an opportunity for acquiring a practical knowledge of the employment of all the arms until war brings actual field experience. In this respect the navy has a marked advantage over the army, for the reason that vessels in commission are always on a war basis and when assembled in fleets they have only to practise the manœuvres of war. No part of the army or National Guard ever appears at manœuvres or camps of instruction on a war basis.

We do not need a large army, but we must have one well trained and of sufficient size to meet existing requirements. We are extravagant with fortifications and stingy with men. We should begin without further delay to plan division cantonments to replace isolated forts and barracks which have outlived their strategical usefulness. The cost of a well-equipped, modestly built cantonment for a normal division of three infantry brigades and the proper contingent of other arms would be greatly offset by the saving in transportation of supplies and in assembling troops for manœuvres every alternate year. It will be the least expensive way of teaching both regulars and National Guard the business of war in all but actual combat. In event of hostilities such cantonments would be invaluable as places of assembly for the volunteers contemplated in the second call to aid

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the regulars and National Guard. The ease with which new regiments could be prepared for service at such establishments would put to shame the large camps of the war with Spain.

We are not competing with other nations in an extravagant policy of military and naval expansion. If we would avoid much of the waste inseparable from going to war without due preparation, we must be ready with a complete system for passing from a peace to a war establishment. Thus only may we avoid a repetition of the humiliation of having masses of patriotic men in unsanitary camps, qualifying for the pension roll through lack of previous training in all that makes the soldier fit and worthy of the name.

Nearly every war of consequence has shown that when fairly matched armies confront each other, success usually follows some innovation in organization and tactics, traceable frequently to an individual. The nation which has gone to war with the organization, equipment and tactics of its last war, or of a previous generation, has usually encountered initial defeat.

With abundant and splendid material for soldiers and effective arms, wisdom, expediency and policy alike dictate that we should sleeplessly face the problem of simplifying and perfecting our administration, organization and tactics, to the end that the new army of regulars, organized militia and volunteers may pass automatically from a peace to a war basis.

Success in war depends upon military preparedness, which in turn is based upon organized military resources. Loyal men, physically fit and trained, properly provided with war materials and sustained by the moral support of the nation and a continually replenished treasury, constitute the only guarantee of victory and avoidance of national humiliation.

WILLIAM H. CARTER, U.S.A.

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THE RIGHT TO STRIKE: ITS LIMITATIONS.

BY JOSEPH J. FEELY.

THE recent strike of the switchmen of the Northwest, with its wide-spread and disastrous effect upon the commerce of a large section of the country and the inconvenience caused to its citizens, the threatened strike upon the Eastern railways, bring afresh to the public mind the question: What limitations are there upon the right of a large group of men to combine and strike when such action directly imperils the safety or welfare of the public?

How far can such forces be controlled by organized society through the mandates of its courts, the only tribunals that the public has devised for interpreting and applying the rules which must govern the conflicting conduct of men?

Law is but the expression of the supreme authority of the State and obedience to such authority is man's first duty.

In interpreting the law, courts are but the oracles of the public will. To them at all times and under all circumstances the great mass of the people look with confidence for a proper interpretation of those rules by which individual or collective conduct must be regulated for the public good. For every wrong the law presupposes a remedy and it is the duty of courts to define and apply that remedy.

Novel questions have recently arisen by reason of combinations of capitalists, yet the courts have found little difficulty in dealing with and satisfactorily settling such questions, not alone by reason of the few statutes which have been passed upon the subject, but rather by the application of those time-honored principles of justice and equity which have received the sanction of ages.

The law is not inadequate nor the courts impotent to deal with the equally novel and important questions presented with so much aggressiveness by combinations of laborers.

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A strike may be defined to be a cessation from employment by two or more persons, pursuant to a common design or understanding, for a cause other than a mutual termination of employment by employer and employee. A strike as the public has come to recognize and understand it has certain characteristics not pertaining to the ordinary quitting of employment by an employee. In the first place, the striker does not really wish to relinquish his employment. He simply aims to interrupt the ordinary course of business to which he has been a party as a means of coercing the employer, through the inconvenience and loss which his action causes, to accede to his demands. His quitting employment is, therefore, but a means to attain an end and both must be lawful to justify the action taken.

Moreover, in the ordinary strike the grievance is usually not so much that of the individual as that of a combination of individuals to gain what is termed a mutual benefit.

Furthermore, the joint action of several persons quitting their employment at a prearranged time is entirely different in character and effect from the ordinary act of quitting employment by the individual laborer.

It has been frequently stated by labor leaders and others, even by tribunals who should weigh their words with more exactness and care, that laborers have a right to enter into combination and to strike for whatever reason they choose or for no reason at all. Such a broad statement is, however, inaccurate and frequently misleading, for the right to strike, as an examination of the authorities plainly shows, is not an absolute right, but one which, like the great majority of privileges which the citizen possesses, is limited by the co-equal rights of others.

It has been stated that a strike, however peaceful the means adopted to enforce it, is designed to mean coercion and compulsion, and coercion and compulsion which, to be effective, shall be irresistible, a practical effect impossible of accomplishment by individual action.

It is with restrictions upon this concerted action that the courts have had to deal. These restrictions have been the subject of many judicial determinations. The courts of Massachusetts have been foremost in stating and applying the principles of law governing the use of such combined action.

Ordinarily, in the case of an effective strike, but two parties

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are primarily affected—the employer and the striking employee, though the public is in the end the party most surely, if but indirectly, affected by every strike, for upon the result of the strike depends the transfer of some economic advantage.

For instance, if the strike be one to enforce the familiar demand for shorter hours or higher wages, its success means a higher cost of the article produced, and this higher cost it can safely be asserted is not long borne by the employer, but is soon shifted by him to the consuming public in the form of a higher price for the article produced.

There is, however, a class of strikes in which the public is directly affected, and in the consequence of which it has a paramount interest, as, for instance, strikes upon public-service instrumentalities which interrupt commerce, transportation, communication or other utilities essential to the welfare of the public. In such a strike the striking employees know that their unrestrained power of interference with the operation of those instrumentalities, which society has created for its welfare and convenience, supported (as are the strikers) by its patronage, and the consequent annoyance is the most effective weapon which the strikers possess to coerce the employer into acceding to their demands. The courts have had occasion to give but slight judicial attention to this class of cases lately so menacing to the public.

One is frequently met by the statement that what one may do the many may do. That is obviously not true, for the reason that the act of the many is not the same in intention or effect as the individual act. A man may walk down the street as he chooses, but a body of men may not walk down the same street in procession without a permit from the public authorities. Here is a clear illustration that the right of the individual to walk upon the street is subject to the limitation that he may not walk in concert with large numbers, even though he wishes so to do.

While the law permits the individual not under specific contract to quit his work arbitrarily and for little or no reason, his right to do this is subject to the limitation that he must not do so at such time or in such a manner as to destroy his employer's property or endanger the public safety. For instance, if he were engaged as engineer upon an engine, he would not be justified in quitting at a time when he had such a fire or head

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of steam on as might, by leaving the engine unattended, cause an explosion and so endanger the public safety or destroy his employer's property.

Again, an individual under contract not terminable at will may not lawfully break his agreement, and so to cease work under such circumstances is unlawful.

The character of the contract to work for another is such that except in certain peculiar instances public policy does not compel the specific performance thereof by the individual, although still branding the breach as illegal and awarding damages therefor.

In spite of the somewhat unsettled state of our law in this respect, it is clear that even the right of the individual to cease work is limited: (1) By the paramount right of the body politic to assure its own safety and (2) by the co-equal rights of other individuals.

Notwithstanding the existence of these two general restrictions upon the individual's right, the value of freedom of movement and choice among its citizens is considered of such paramount importance to the community that the right of the individual to cease work is regarded as a right higher in degree than most of those rights with which it comes in contact, so that the single person may exercise his right for an arbitrary, absurd or illogical cause, if he will, or for any cause not affirmatively stamped by the law as illegal.

At the outset we encounter this striking difference between the status of the individual and that of the group, that whereas the privilege of the individual to work or not, as he sees fit, is treated as of the greatest importance to society at large, the right of the group to strike simultaneously, containing as it does, potentialities of far-reaching harm and destruction to the whole body politic through its many citizens affected, is regarded not as of supreme importance, but only as of equal rank with the privileges of others, and since the exercise of this right almost inevitably works intentional injury to others, those who take upon themselves to invoke its aid are held strictly accountable for its use in a justifiable manner and for a justifiable end. The privilege of using this right to quit work arbitrarily, which we see in the case of the individual, no longer exists in the group, who are permitted to avail themselves of it only when such use can be

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justified; it cannot be said to be justified when the damage inflicted is out of all proportion to the benefit sought for or when the end striven for is arbitrary or contrary to the accepted law.

As the strike by a combination of individuals must be acts of individuals plus the effect of concerted action, the combination must of necessity be subject to such limitations as apply to individual action, and also to such limitations as are peculiar to the resulting action of the combination, for the reason that the power of concerted activity is essentially so different and so vast, and its use so infinitely more coercive in comparison with individual effort, that its exercise in the same manner as that allowed to individual activity would completely overshadow resisting endeavor on the part of citizens acting severally. Clearly, then, the right to use such enormous power, a power derived from the very existence of organized society, must of necessity be a qualified privilege which can only be taken justifiably or reasonably with due regard to the rights of that society which makes its exercise possible, and not in such a manner as directly or intentionally to injure or unnecessarily interfere with or oppress the public.

In a recent case the Supreme Court of Massachusetts said:*

"There is a fact which puts a further limitation on what acts a labor union can legally do. That is the increase of power which a combination of citizens has over the individual citizen. Take, for example, the power of a labor union to compel by a strike compliance with its demands. Speaking generally, a strike to be successful means not only coercion and compulsion, but coercion and compulsion which, for practical purposes, are irresistible. A successful strike by laborers means in many if not in most cases that for practical purposes the strikers have such a control of the labor which the employer must have that he has to yield to their demands. A single individual may well be left to take his chances in a struggle with another individual. But in a struggle with a number of persons combined together to fight an individual the individual's chance is small, if it exists at all. It is plain that a strike by a combination of persons has a power of coercion which an individual does not have.

"The result of this greater power of coercion, on the part of a combination of individuals, is that what is lawful for an individual is not the test of what is lawful for a combination of individuals; or to state it in another way, there are things which it is lawful for an individual to do which it is not lawful for a combination of individuals to do.

* Pickett *vs.* Walsh, 192 Mass., 582, 586.

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"It is settled in this Commonwealth, as we have already said, that the line within which a combination of individuals like a labor union must confine its actions is drawn much closer than in case of the same individuals acting separately."

In arriving at their conclusion upon this question, the courts have applied certain well-known principles which have received the approval of many ages in dealing with combinations, whatever their purpose. The court has inquired:

First: What is the purpose of the combination? (*a*) Is it a lawful purpose? (*b*) Is it an unlawful purpose?

If the combination is found to be for an unlawful purpose the court will enjoin the carrying out of such purpose by any means whatever.

Second: If the combination is found to be for a lawful purpose, are the means used or designed to be used to carry the combination into effect lawful or unlawful? If unlawful means are to be used the courts will interfere to prohibit such use.

The so-called "right to strike" is thus seen to resolve itself instead merely into a right to strike in order to attain a justifiable end. Our courts, especially those of Massachusetts, the only State in which the questions relating to this right have been considered in any extensive way, in passing upon cases involving the right to strike follow these general principles and seek to determine whether the purpose of the strike is one which a reasonable man would consider a justifiable end in view of all the surrounding circumstances, keeping in mind the co-equal rights of others and the general grounds of public policy.

The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has said:*

"It is settled in the Commonwealth that the legality of a strike depends (in case the strikers are not under contract to work) upon the purpose for which the combination is formed—the purpose for which the employees strike."

Adopting this method, the courts have passed specifically upon a number of situations and have established certain causes as ones sufficiently meritorious to justify a strike and have labelled others as unjustifiable, and the right to strike can be said to

* Reynolds *vs.* Davis, 198, Mass., 294.

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exist only for the purpose of promoting a cause in the first class and to be non-existent where the cause falls within the second division.

Some instances in which such combinations were found to be for an unjustifiable end, hence an unlawful purpose, are:

Where the object was:

1. To secure a monopoly of a trade or calling.
2. To create or maintain a closed shop.
3. The sympathetic strike.
4. To procure the discharge of a workman because he does not belong to an organization.
5. To induce the violation of a contract on the part of a third person.
6. To violate the actor's contract.
7. To enforce the collection of a fine on an employee levied for the purpose of compelling him to join in a strike.
8. To force upon the employer rules for arbitration made wholely by the union.
9. Improper interference with the right of the employers to have access to a free labor market.

It will be noticed that courts have largely had to consider such combined action as dealt with the interference of co-equal rights of the other individuals. The courts have said that "in this, as in every other case of equal rights, the right of each individual . . . may be said to end where that of another begins."

The right to labor is the primitive right of man; deny it to him and the right to live is denied. The right to labor includes the right to dispose of one's labor. The right to dispose of one's labor with full freedom involves the correlative duty on the part of others to abstain from any obstruction of the fullest exercise of such rights. The denial of this right not only affects the individual, but is an attack upon the public welfare and so is against public policy.

For both of these reasons, therefore, the court will enjoin any unjustifiable infringement of this right.

Thus far have the courts gone in interpreting and applying the law for the preservation of individual rights, in defining what limitations shall be applied to combined action which interferes with co-equal rights of others as individuals.

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The application of the same principles would seem adequate to protect the public from the consequences of much of the hasty, inconsiderate, or improper concerted action in those cases where such action vitally affects the public welfare.

Certainly the interest of the public should have as prompt and as effective consideration and protection as those of the individual or group of individuals.

The right of the body politic to assure its own safety is the highest conceivable right. Why should not the concerted action of large bodies of men deriving their income from the patronage of the public, tending directly to public injury, be subordinated to the paramount right of the body politic to assure its own safety?

Why should the lesser rights be protected and the greater right be subjected to unrestrained attack?

Such paramount right of the public would seem to be a sufficient justification for legislative action creating tribunals to which matters growing out of industrial disputes *involving the public welfare* should be left for compulsory arbitration and settlement, as soon as the creation of such a tribunal be deemed expedient. Until such a method of controlling this sort of industrial strife be created, it will be the duty of courts to interfere, whenever it is shown, in due course of legal procedure, that the public safety or welfare is threatened to determine not only the legality of the issues involved, but also whether *in any event* the concerted action is such as is likely to endanger the public safety or welfare, and if such be found to be a fact, then by their mandate to prohibit such arbitrary concerted action on the part of any group of men.

JOSEPH J. FEELY.

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SOME NEW VOLUMES OF VERSE.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

NEXT to Mr. Thomas Hardy's novels I have liked his lyrics;* but I hasten to say that my preference must not be interpreted to the disadvantage of his dramas, for I have not yet read his "Dynasts." Probably, as I am so apt to like everything he does, I shall like his dramatic pieces as much as his lyrical. Yet I promise nothing, and I would be no true critic if I did not make my reservations concerning even his lyrics. I do not like them all, and those that I like I like partly rather than wholly. Of course, one might say the same of Shakespeare's or Milton's things, or even one's own imperfecter endeavors; but I find it a peculiar hardship in a writer whom I had not expected any poetry at all of, and have then got more than I expected: I feel that he owed me an unalloyed recompense when my experience had bettered my expectation. This sort of disappointment attended me in the "Wessex Poems," and in the "Poems of the Past and Present," and it has followed well through "Time's Laughing-Stocks." But there is every now and then a piece of Mr. Hardy's, with a line, a stanza, or perhaps only a phrase in it, so captivating that I yield to it a heart used to giving itself with something like the passion of first love and gladly let the sweetness qualify the whole piece for me. Such a stanza is that parenthesized description of the bride, as if the like richness could be carelessly thrown in any time, in "The Satin Shoes":

> "(She was as fair as early day
> Shining in meads unmown,
> *And her sweet syllables seemed to play*
> *Like flute-notes softly blown.*)"

Never have I known anything more tenderly, more endearingly

* "Time's Laughing-Stocks and Other Verses." By Thomas Hardy. New York: Macmillan & Co.

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said or fuller of the sense of youth, of girlhood and of a personality delicately embodying both; and I made haste to get "Time's Laughing-Stocks," that I might find all the other pieces like that. But I did not find even that; it was of a still later singing; and this, perhaps, impoverished me among the pieces I did find. Yet if it had not been for the loveliness of those lines, I might have felt a greater beauty than I owned in the beauty really there.

It is mostly a tragical beauty, a sort of wild-flower pathos, a wayside-wood passion, which is the nature of the book, with a grimness, an obstructiveness as of stony fields and perdurable monoliths in the over-psychologized passages. "A Tramp-Woman's Tragedy," "A Sunday Morning Tragedy," "The Curate's Kindness," "Julie Jane," "The Husband's View," and "A Dream Question" will give the reader a notion of what I mean, though he will do well to read the rest of the poems while he is about it. He will find compacted, or ejaculated in the difficult pieces, that rich earthiness, that heathenness, that mortalness, that godlessness which one is aware of in Mr. Hardy's fiction, or thinks one ought to be aware of, since it has been so much noted. I am rather ashamed to note it again; but what can one do? It seems rather awfuller, nakeder, starker in the verse than in the prose, where it is softened and veiled by the play of the poet's humor. Poet he is, and always was, with more affection for his mother Earth than his father God whom he seems not to understand very well and apparently accuses of ignoring if not neglecting His children, and of not being a very high intelligence or at least a deep consciousness.

"NEW-YEAR'S EVE.

"'I have finished another year,' said God,
'In gray, green, white and brown;
I have strewn the leaf upon the sod,
Sealed up the worm within the clod,
And let the last sun down.'

"'And what's the good of it?' I said.
'What reasons made you call
From formless void this earth we tread;
When nine-and-ninety can be read
Why nought should be at all?

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"'Yea, Sire; why shaped you us, who in
This tabernacle groan—
If ever joy be found therein,
Such joy no man has wished to win
If he had never known!'

"Then he, 'My labors—logicless—
You may explain, not I:
Sense-sealed I have wrought without a guess
That I evolved a Consciousness
To ask for reasons why.

"'Strange that ephemeral creatures who
By my own ordering are,
Should see the shortness of my view,
Use ethic tests I never knew,
Or made provision for!'

"He sank to raptness as of yore,
And opening New-Year's Day,
Wove it by rote as theretofore,
And went on working evermore
In his unweeting way."

This is the Poet's case against the Creator, and it seems a strong one; few creatures but it shall bring a thrill of bitter self-satisfaction; but perhaps if it were the Creator really speaking, and not the Poet dramatically for Him, He might have something different to say. Between personages so high, however, the critic may not venture to interpose, and the reader will probably do best to pass in silence.

But is this somewhat a mood of all the actual poetry? I have fancied perhaps it is, but I will not positively say that I find confirmation of my conjecture in the two books of lyrics by Mr. Rice,* which as in Mr. Hardy's case I have been reading to the exclusion of his dramas. It is an English deity that Mr. Hardy mocks, and it is English emotions and experiences, ground-English, which his satire reflects; but the fanes that Mr. Rice flouts are far-Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, Moslem, Egyptian. The gods there no more answer back than the English deity; now, since all the gods have grown so subjective, they no longer retort in plagues, or comets, or earthquakes, or in fire from heaven, that they were once so ready with; it appears they can-

* I. "Many Gods." II. "Nirvana Days." By Cale Young Rice. New York: Doubleday & Page.

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not; or else they will not because they have found that such arguments do not meet the human logic. As for our own Hebrew-derived, English, Anglo-Saxon deity, who is so far from meeting the English poet's requirements, the American poet starts on his round of the Oriental faiths with a consoling trust in Him that I must transfer to the reader so far as he will accept it.

"ALL'S WELL.

"The illimitable leaping of the sea
The mouthing of his madness to the moon,
The seething of his endless sorcery,
His prophecy no power can attune,
Swept over me as on the sounding prow
Of a great ship that steered into the stars,
I stood and felt the awe upon my brow
Of death and destiny and all that mars.

"The wind that blew from Cassiopeia cast
Wanly upon my ear a rune that rung;
The sailor in his eyrie on the mast
Sang an 'All's well' that to the spirit clung.
. . . . . .
'And is all well, O Thou Unweariable
Launcher of worlds upon bewildered space,'
Rose in me, 'All? or did thy hand grow dull
Building this world that bears a piteous race?
O was it launched too soon or launched too late?
Or can it be a derelict that drifts
Beyond thy ken toward some reef of Fate
On which Oblivion's sand forever shifts?'

"The sea grew softer as I questioned—calm
With mystery that like an answer moved,
And from infinity there fell a balm,
The old peace that God *is*, tho' all unproved,
The old faith that tho' gulfs sidereal stun
The soul, and drown within their deep,
There is no world that wanders; no, not one
Of all the millions, that He does not keep."

Mr. Rice seems more naturally a singer than Mr. Hardy, and whatever I might say of his theology I could have but little praise for his poetry. There is some bold languaging which I could wish a little more timorous, though perhaps the themes may imperatively require it; but the poems are flashingly, glowingly full of the East as I understand the East, though really

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I may no more understand it than I understand Greek when I say that certain modern poetry is very Greek; one trusts to one's ignorance in these things and to what people say who ought to know. But what I am sure of in Mr. Rice is that here we have an American poet whom we may claim ours, however Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, Moslem, Egyptian he may be in his inspirations and divinations. There is abundance of mysticism, which is almost never misticism, in his page, but I believe I like best of all that ribald burst of human nature in "A Song of the Sects" from the lips of an Armenian, a Latin, a Coptic and a Greek Christian in a tavern at Jerusalem. Its savagery, to be sure imparts no sense of the beauty one feels in most other pieces in the book. But one realizes here as there that it is a fresh voice one hears so far from home swelling our native chorus, and it is again a Kentucky voice, as clearly of the Kentucky earth and sky as Mr. Cawein's, long so surpassingly rich and fine. The later singer is not so sensuous as the earlier, and from what I have been intimating he is over-psychological in his themes. The one brings Keats's Hellas to Kentucky; the other carries Kentucky to all the Orient. But when he finds his dreaming and divining fancy recalled by some strong local occasion, he comes down to business with a strenuousness which I do not remember to have found in Mr. Cawein's muse, though quite likely I have forgotten. I mean that such pieces as "Night Riders" and "Honor to the Night Riders who murdered Hedges," coming at the close of "Nirvana Days," give one a grateful sense of indignantly duteous force which is refreshing after those excursioning reveries. One perceives that it was for a special reason that this poet was born in Kentucky and not in the sunrise lands that have so winningly invited his naturalization.

It is in like manner to our pleasure and profit that an English poet domesticated among us turns so often, with "heart untravelled" to his own country, in Mr. Le Gallienne's "New Poems."* Though the themes are apparently impatriate, it is England that suffers and revolts and renounces in such magnificent humanities (if I may wrench the word from a conventional to a real use) as "The Cry of the Little Peoples," and

* "New Poems." By Richard Le Gallienne. New York: John Lane Company.

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"Christmas in War-Time," and "The Illusion of War." It is her conscience, it is her grief, that speaks in the first and the second, and it is her outraged common sense and true heart uttering themselves in the last, which I am going to repeat here for the good of the reader's soul, for we Americans, too, are apt to be smitten with the beauty of the same glorious devil.

"War
I abhor,
And yet how sweet
The sound along the marching street
Of drum and fife; and I forget
Wet eyes of widows, and forget
Broken old mothers, and the whole
Dark butchery without a soul.

"Without a soul—save this bright drink
Of heady music, sweet as hell;
And even my peace-abiding feet
Go marching with the marching street,
For yonder goes the fife,
And what care I for human life!
The tears fill my astonished eyes
And my full heart is like to break,
And yet 'tis all embannered lies,
A dream those little drummers make.

"Oh, it is wickedness to clothe
Yon hideous, grinning thing that stalks
Hidden in music, like a queen
That in a garden of glory walks,
Till good men love the thing they loathe.
Art, thou hast many infamies,
But not an infamy like this.
Oh, snap the fife and still the drum,
And show the monster as she is."

Whoever reads this cannot question the power of a poet who mostly makes you feel his delicacy. Occasionally his delicacy goes a little too far for me and ends in a tenuity impalpable to what I am willing to call my thumb-fingeredness. Yet when it goes farthest and my week-day understanding cannot pursue it to its ultimate meaning, there is somewhere in me a Sabbath sense which divines a significance which the merely corporeal words have not borne—as in these lines:

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"Oh, climb with me, this April night,
The silver ladder of the moon—
All dew and danger and delight;
Above the poplars soon,

"Into the lilac-scented night sky,
Shall mount her maiden horn,
Frail as a spirit to the eye—
Oh, climb with me till morn."

Something of William Blake, something of Emily Dickinson, (who was the New England palingenesis of William Blake) is here, and the like impalpable loveliness is in many passages of this mostly beautiful book. But it has a music very distinctly its own, with a haunting charm in its dying falls, and a delight in its gladder tones which I do not remember to have got from other poets. For lightness and fineness of what must be called critical analysis of his own joy, it seems to me that this poet is at his subtlest in "The Nightjar," which he holds dearer than the nightingale—

"The soul of Tennyson become a bird,"

the Greece that Leighton painted, "the moulded notes of Mendelssohn," the "marble make-believe" of Canova; but not comparable to the—

"Browning among the birds, the nightjar, he."

It is all very literary, and Mr. Le Gallienne is very literary, and I like him for being so, for without being so he could not turn and give so fresh and straight a drink of nature in his apostrophe to his chosen bird.

"Coarse beak of blunted music, uncouth bird
That grinds monotonous music through the night,
Trusting that truth shall make amends for art;
Thy voice is as the voice the future loves;
Face poor in feature, rich in flaming soul;
Rude bird, a shire of pine woods in thy voice,
Fern-throated, thistle-tongued and moorland bred."

It will not do to say that Keats himself could not have worded this better, for Keats is dead and there is no way of proving such a thesis; but with Keats no longer alive I take leave to be glad of the surpassing felicity of phrasing, the impassioned sense of beauty, the exquisite fancy and not least the just and manful spirit which I find in Mr. Le Gallienne's poetry.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

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A PLEA FOR JUSTICE.

BY ALEXANDER C. HUMPHREYS.

HERE in the United States it has always been, and still is, our boast that we tax property to give a free education to the masses, and that we do not tax the property of educational institutions.

It is coming to be understood that we have been unduly complacent as to the efficiency of our educational schemes and methods. At least a substantial minority of educators and legislators now hold that a system which is designed to educate the masses for self-support as a necessary preliminary to effective citizenship should not include the college as the goal for all. Such a system is a better subject for Fourth-of-July oratory than for the qualifying of the masses to gain self-respect through self-support.

But the other claim, that our State and national Governments do not tax educational institutions, is one which generally can be supported by the facts. An exception, fortunately rare, can be found in the case of an institution of national and even international reputation, namely, the Stevens Institute of Technology. This institution has been discriminated against both by the local authorities and by the national Government.

The local Government has refused to exempt from taxation certain lands in area within the limits set by the Statute, and used only in connection with its educational work; and the national Government collected a large amount from the Institute's original endowment which other like institutions refused to pay and whose assessments were remitted. The amount so paid by the Institute the Government has unjustly retained, notwithstanding repeated petitions that the Institute be reimbursed and so placed upon an equal footing with other educational institutions.

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The facts are briefly as follows: The War-Tax Act of 1862, amended in 1864 and 1866, imposed taxes on legacies, inheritances, successions, etc. Edwin A. Stevens, of Castle Point, Hoboken, died in 1868, leaving $750,000 to found the Stevens Institute of Technology, $500,000 being in the form of productive endowment, $100,000 in land and $150,000 with which to erect a building thereon. Under the Act cited, the Stevens bequest was assessed $45,750, being six per cent. on $762,500. Not satisfied with assessing on the amount as bequeathed, the local officials of the national Government arbitrarily and erroneously increased the valuation of the land $12,500 for the purpose of the assessment. Thus the *productive* portion of the endowment was reduced more than nine per cent.

Under this law other institutions of learning had previously been assessed but had refused to make payment. Evidently the trustees of the estate of E. A. Stevens, who also were the original trustees of the Institute, were not informed as to the refusal of pay on the part of other educational institutions and that steps were in contemplation looking to their relief from obligation. Within twenty-eight days of the receipt of the tax bill, under heavy pressure from the local United States Internal Revenue Collector, the amount was paid in full.

In July of the succeeding year the movement to relieve the other institutions assessed, but which had not paid, took shape in special relief bills which were passed. Thus the amounts assessed against these institutions, *but not paid,* were "remitted and released." Also in July, 1870, the Congress passed a general Act which repealed all provisions of existing laws "whereby any tax or duty is laid upon bequests . . . for public uses of a literary, educational or charitable character." But no provision was made for the relief of the one institution which had met its obligation to the Government and done so promptly. Congress has been petitioned repeatedly to right this evident wrong.

When the writer assumed the presidency of the Institute, he inaugurated a thorough investigation as to the facts and then reopened the subject in Washington. Since then bills for relief have been before the Congress continuously, and the alumni of the Institute have taken an unusually active part in pressing for justice. The following bills are now before Congress and have been referred to committees: House of Repre-

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sentatives, No. 20338, referred to the Committee on Claims; Senate, No. 6570, referred to the Finance Committee. Almost without exception Representatives and Senators, when spoken to privately, admit that the Institute's claim is manifestly just and should be met by the passage of these bills. The only argument in opposition which has been advanced to the writer is that the repayment of the amount would open the doors to other claimants. To this the reply has been made that this is an isolated case and, therefore, should be considered on its merits. This righteous claim for the return of money, which never should have been collected, cannot honestly and intelligently be confused with other claims differing in all or many particulars.

The Treasury Department claims that between the years 1862 and 1870 other educational institutions under this law paid taxes on legacies. The Institute's representatives, after diligent search and inquiry, have failed to learn of a single such case and the Treasury Department has been unable to cite one. But let that be as it may, the Institute's claim can be paid without opening the doors for claims covering reimbursement of moneys so paid prior to the beginning of the movement which resulted in 1870 in the passing of the special and general legislation which relieved those institutions which had been assessed but had refused to make payment. At least relief should be extended to all those who were included within the period set by the assessment longest delinquent, and certainly these should include the one institution which was assessed within that period but was not delinquent.

This case of injustice is aggravated by the fact that the Stevens Institute was the pioneer in the theoretical teaching of *mechanical* engineering, and its methods and experience have served as a standard and guide for many other institutions of higher learning that have taken up the theoretical teaching of mechanical engineering to the great benefit of the country at large.

The proof of the success of the Institute in the efficient practical training for citizenship, and especially for service in the industries, is to be found in a study of the directory of the Institute's alumni. These men are found to be occupying positions of authority in all branches of engineering and all fields of industry, as well as in other vocations. The variety of vocations shown by this study indicates that the Institute authorities, while providing a specific training along lines of practical efficiency,

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have not failed to recognize their responsibility to furnish the opportunities for that breadth of training so essential to good citizenship.

The injustice of the case cited is emphasized by the fact that the Institute is probably the least liberally endowed institution of its kind and standing in the United States and now is in most pressing need of an addition to its endowment.

It is also emphasized by the fact that the founder of the Institute, whose legacy was assessed, with his father and brothers, helped forward the industries of the country probably as no other group of men did. They also placed their talents and their means at the service of the State and Federal Governments more than once in times of national peril.

The Institute authorities claim as a right, and not as a favor, that this money should be returned, and with interest. The Representatives and Senators in Washington should face this case on its merit and set an example in the practice of equity.

ALEXANDER C. HUMPHREYS.

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SHALL VIVISECTION BE RESTRICTED?

BY GENEVIEVE GRANDCOURT.

THE statement made in the March REVIEW by Dr. Edward Berdoe, editor of the "Zoophilist," that by "legitimate vivisection" is meant "to make it compulsory to prevent all tortures in laboratories," thus assuming as a matter of course that such tortures exist. The point of view may better be appreciated by looking over the Minutes of Public Hearing* held by the Judiciary Committee of the Assembly at Albany on Wednesday, February 23rd, 1910. Before this committee of the State Legislature Mr. Stephen Coleridge stated that he was opposed to all pain-producing experiments on the lower animals, no matter what the aim of the experiment might be. He was thereupon asked by an Assemblyman whether, supposing a human being to be taken mortally ill, it would, in his view, be wrong to kill a horse by hard driving in sending for a doctor. Mr. Coleridge was constrained to admit that such an emergency would constitute justification. This point being settled, the question would seem to hinge upon an understanding of the word "necessary" in the definition of cruelty by Webster as cited by Dr. Berdoe.

The experiments which he mentions as having been conducted in the French Navy to test "the effects of gun-fire at sea" do not appear on their face either to have been necessary or to have been conducted for scientific purposes, but are alluded to apparently to show that dogs in the cabin of a bombarded battleship suffered extremely and in some cases were "driven mad by terror." Dr. Berdoe does not state whether he bases his knowledge of this affair on anything more readily verifiable than report.

Further on Dr. Berdoe, in speaking of the Congo atrocities,

* See notes of Colson & Brice, Reporting Stenographers to the Public Service Commission; pp. 38–41.

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says: "The shareholders in these African companies must have their dividends, and the people must have their rubber, their ivory and their tapioca. It is the same defence as that of the vivisectors." Is it, indeed? What dividends accrue to the physiologist? What compensation does he get—except, perhaps, the satisfaction of adding to knowledge—for the risks of blood-poisoning in experiment, for the repulsive accompaniments to performing an intestinal anastomosis on a dog on a reeking day in August? Is it pardonable to compare the work of men engaged in the unremunerative task of establishing the cause and prevention of disease with that which results in maintaining, for example, superfluous palaces for King Leopold of Belgium? From Dr. Berdoe's argument it would appear that he thinks the balance rather in favor of the Congo trade, for he says: "The rubber merchants do not boast of their doings even in their trade journals, but the vivisectors record the details of their cruel work in professional books and papers." The fact that the latter do not on Dr. Berdoe's own admission work altogether "in secret" should be evidence enough of their good faith.

As to Dr. Crile's "terrible experiments on dogs," it is a matter almost of notoriety that this subject was thoroughly aired in the London "Times"* and the fact established that all these animals were anæsthetized, and not only that, but *they were never permitted to come out of the ether.* Dr. Frederick S. Lee, professor of physiology at Columbia University, takes exception to certain statements made in dealing with Dr. Crile's book in a pamphlet entitled "The Publications of the New York Anti-Vivisection Society"† and says: "The climax of this method of criticism is reached in the interpolated sentence: 'Curare, the drug which paralyzes the nerves of motion, but renders more sensitive those of sensation—the opposite of an anæsthetic—is mentioned as being used on pages 68, 70, 72.' Not only is the statement that curare renders more sensitive the nerves of sensation untrue, but the fact is suppressed which was clearly stated in Dr. Crile's book that morphine was used with the curare and was injected into a vein, thus making more quickly effective the well-known anæsthetic properties of the drug." This misrepresentation has been

* From December 24th, 1908, to January 6th, 1909, inclusive.

† Published under the auspices of the Committee on Experimental Medicine of the Medical Society of the State of New York (1909).

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corrected so often in the last eight or ten years that Sir Victor Horsley* (under whom Dr. Crile conducted his experiments in London) has declined further to discuss the matter.

Much the same thing applies to Dr. Rose Bradford's "slicing away the kidneys of forty-nine living dogs." The object of the experiments, conducted under anæsthesia, though Dr. Berdoe implies that they were not, was to ascertain the amount of kidney substance necessary to life, Bright's disease eating away the tissue. As a consequence, we know that we can live without one kidney and with only a portion of the remaining; hence it is now entirely safe to operate upon man.

On the Minutes of Evidence Royal Commission, Q. O., 3,538 to 3,550 (Dr. Berdoe quotes by mistake 6,538 to 6,550), appears the statement attributed to Dr. Klein that he had "no regard at all" for the sufferings he caused the lower animals; but Dr. Berdoe omits all reference to Appendix II, wherein is shown correspondence on the part of Dr. Klein, stating that he was a German with an imperfect knowledge of English and wished to amend certain of his statements made under a misapprehension.†

We come now to a consideration of the "cruelty" of Sir Thomas Lauder Brunton in injecting digitaline into the veins of dogs, etc., for the purpose of testing its action upon the heart. Dr. Berdoe refers to Brunton's work on "Circulation and Respiration," pp. 103-129. We find that thirteen experiments were conducted, in *nine* of which anæsthetics were used. On page 106 it is stated in the second experiment, "Chloroform was given as formerly." The dog died under the experiment, and in the one succeeding the carotid of a sheep was exposed *without* chloroform, the sheep surviving. In Experiment IV, chloroform was administered as previously to the dog and

* Sir Victor's exact words as contained in the concluding paragraph of a letter to the London "Times," January 5th, 1909, as follows: "Having thus shown that in the first experiment the animal which Mr. Coleridge declared . . . to have suffered torture was, in fact, absolutely unconscious to pain, and that in the second experiment the animal . . . was not only unconscious to pain, but practically dead, . . . it appears to me that to give further consideration to any of his statements is a mere waste of public time."

† See Dr. Klein's amendment to the statement quoted by Dr. Berdoe as above, 3,539, wherein he states that none of his experiments were "of a very painful nature." (Royal Commission on the Practice of Subjecting Live Animals to Experiments for Scientific Purposes, Appendix II, correspondence with Dr. Emanuel Klein and his amended proof as submitted to the commission.)

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the animal died (pp. 108-110). Under Experiment X appears this note: "A large dog was operated on. No chloroform was given, as after I had seen an operation conducted on a dog without chloroform, I concluded that the uneasiness they suffered while getting it was worse than they seemed to experience from the operation," etc. As a foot-note to Experiment I* we note: "Dog released from table. Seemed a little stiff at first, but soon ran about as if nothing had happened," etc.

Dr. Berdoe speaks of an article on "Meningitis," by Dr. Martha Wollstein, assistant in the Pathological Laboratory at the Rockefeller Institute. The facts are these: In connection with the investigation of this disease which resulted in producing the anti-meningitis serum, thirty monkeys were used. One to two thousand cases have since been treated with this serum. The effects of the experiment have worked out as follows: whereas, before, there was a death-rate of eighty per cent., those recovering being crippled, now only twenty per cent. die, those recovering being able-bodied. No more monkeys need suffer, but meningitis will exist as a disease just the same, with the difference that its ravages may be checked and sufferers relieved and in the majority of instances cured.

Why should the experiments of men who lived before the time of anæsthetics or antiseptics be quoted, or even those of living foreigners, if Dr. Berdoe's object be to correct existing evils in the State of New York?

Dr. Berdoe describes at some length experiments made by Professor Paolo Mantegazza and published thirty-eight years ago in his book entitled "The Physiology of Pain." He refers us to page 101, from which he quotes: "These, my experiments, were conducted *with much delight and extreme patience* for the space of a year" (*"Queste, mie esperienze, furone condotte con molto amore e pazienza moltissima per lo spazio di un anno"*). We do not understand where Dr. Berdoe gets his authority to translate the Italian word *amore* by the English word *delight*. *Amore* in Mantegazza's sentence cannot be construed to mean *pleasure*. "*Con amore*" when marking a passage in music, for example, means "with special emotion" or "absorption."

Dr. Wertheim of Vienna is quoted, through "The Edinburgh Medical Journal" (1868-9, p. 1,026), as having "saturated the

* Page 105.

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bodies of dogs with oil of turpentine . . . setting fire to it." We assume that the Austrian physician would not go to work on the theory that by cutting the wires he might study the current; he could not deaden pain, the effects of which he desired to study. Every one should know that the death-rate from scalds and burns is largely among children of the very poor, and for a long time the immediate cause of death in these cases was imperfectly understood. The skin, of course, normally exudes poison from the system, but when burned, this poison is turned inward and becomes reproductive. Formerly when a quarter of the body surface was burned, death almost certainly ensued; as a result of animal experimentation, even when much more of the skin tract is thus injured, the patient recovers. That Dr. Wertheim was experimenting with a view to solving this physiological problem surely might—in view of the sufferings of childhood—justify the "absolute freedom" in vivisection which Dr. Berdoe so unsparingly condemns.

In conclusion, no one should suppose that men of science have any objection *per se* to inspection of laboratory methods. Certainly if the appointment of competent men would stop the agitation the idea (unless viewed as the entering wedge to abolition) would hardly be opposed. But we have an example of the effects of restriction in England where the science of bacteriology—particularly fruitful in practical results under favorable conditions—is hampered. Lord Lister emphasized the difficulty in stating that in order to continue his studies (the British public, however, showed no lack of disposition to profit by these) he had been under the necessity of going to France. And not only has science been given a setback in England, but restriction has operated to subject such inspectors as do not, willy-nilly, report cases of "cruelty" (?) to the Home Office to systematic misrepresentation and abuse. The position of those in favor of giving research a free hand is that, having accomplished so much in the last fifty years, it should not be deprived of the means to accomplish more. What anti-vivisectionists want is, in fine, not restriction, but prevention; unwittingly, while seeking to protect the lower animals, they would influence a return to conditions under which disease was practically uncontrolled.

GENEVIEVE GRANDCOURT.

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THOMAS PLATT.

BY LEMUEL ELY QUIGG.

JUST after Senator Platt died, a man who himself has some reputation as a political "boss" asked me if I thought the Senator could have succeeded in securing and holding control of the Republican party in New York State to-day. Success has to do with many other things than mere ability in the man who is striving for it, and, of course, it does not follow that the abilities which enable him to impress himself upon his place and time would avail him in another situation, nor that the opportunity to enlist such qualities would occur. No man has ever won a front place in the ranks of political leadership, certainly no man has ever held such position for any length of time with a smaller endowment of those gifts that appeal to public imagination than Thomas C. Platt. He could not conduct a conversation, much less make a speech. He was so little magnetic that even the act of shaking hands he performed listlessly and as though it bored him. He never seemed glad to see anybody the most necessary to his plans nor disturbed if he stopped away. Inspiration, even enthusiasm, he regarded with distrust, as a thing that was likely to get a man into trouble and make him lose sight of his bearings. And yet, without apparently the slightest effort, he could bring together elements the most diverse, ambitions the most antagonistic, men who seemed to have nothing in common, who even held one another in frank aversion, and get from them the most remarkable results in community of purpose and effort.

They would come to him from all parts of the State, each with his own particular plan and ambition, some who regarded others as crooked and disreputable in their political methods, others who regarded some as blatherskites and humbugs, he would gather them into one of his "Sunday-schools," and there, one by one,

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they would lay down their grudges, their schemes, sometimes what they were pleased to call their principles, and go away bound hand and foot and heart and head, bound with chains of their own forging, bound without reserve, with unanimity and with absolute sincerity to his undertaking and his method; and yet, throughout the conference, Mr. Platt himself would not have spoken as many words as are contained in this paragraph.

Men the most perceptive are wondering yet how he did it. It was never a personal appeal; there was never at any time the suggestion of bargain. But somehow or another there would invariably come over these assemblies of party-leaders, and as the discussion went on and as each pointed out the futility of the others' plans, an instinctive feeling that Mr. Platt's way, when it should be announced, would prevail; and it always did. It was not always precisely the plan or the method he was entertaining when he summoned the conference. He had a genius for getting at the best sense of the company, and when everybody was tired, exhausted, weary of the whole matter, conforming it to his own principal end, so that, in the main, he had accomplished what he wanted without compelling in any one's breast a sense of personal humiliation or defeat.

This rare and curious ability, as inscrutable in its nature as it was constantly bewildering in result, describes Senator Platt's relations with all manner of men, whether they were district leaders, newspaper reporters, men of business and affairs, or his colleagues in the Senate, or his associates in the national committees and councils of his party. Back of it, of course, was the fact that his plans always had a feasible look and a certain carrying-power that enabled all kinds of men to see each how he might turn it to his own account. So that with no gift of expression, for he never could argue the point, with no private fortune, for there never was a time in Senator Platt's life when the contemplation of his balance-sheet gave him any satisfaction, with no very clear conception of the trend of public sentiment on the issues of the day, with no very keen respect for popular opinion, even when he recognized its strength, in disposition retiring, painfully sensitive, often irritable and never widely sympathetic, and with every important newspaper treating him and his projects in a varying spirit of scorn and contempt, and hostile always, he contrived to become the leader of a successful party in the greatest State of

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the Union, where the margin of votes between the two parties was normally narrow, where the independent vote was large, organized and powerful; and holding this leadership for a period of more than twenty years, he made himself in every national convention of his party a central and often a dominating figure.

Morton, Black, Roosevelt and Odell became Governors of New York by the finger of his appointment. Almost a full score of succeeding Legislatures obeyed every indication of his will, and no Republican committee or convention in any part of the State considered itself superior to his judgment. What he ordained, moreover, and this must be the test of its merit, what Legislatures at his bidding enacted, what conventions at his direction expressed in platforms and tickets, during at least fifteen years and until he became physically feeble and unable to give attention to things, the people steadily endorsed at the polls. Excellent individuals said it was all very wrong, denounced it as a system and ridiculed it as a fetich, but I smile now to think of the number of them I have run across at 49 Broadway, looking very pleasant as they explained to him something that they wanted for themselves. Schism, even revolution, broke out from time to time and looked very formidable in the newspapers, at the Union League Club or in meetings of self-constituted committees, but by none of these was his power broken. If it seemed otherwise, his friends know that age and the infirmities of nature had weakened his hold of the reins long before they were shaken out of his hands.

That the agencies which have come to assign men to the places they must permanently occupy in public estimation will ever concede to Senator Platt an honorable distinction is, doubtless, too much to expect. He paid small tribute to them while he lived and expected nothing of them when he should die. His contempt of the newspapers fully equalled theirs of him. He used to call them "vehicles of misinformation," and constantly consoled himself for what they were saying of him and his policies with the reflection that "there is a whole lot of truth that gets around the world by word of mouth." It is the common understanding, I suppose, that this man's conceded power was builded on the use of money and patronage, and that notion will probably never yield to the fact that patronage had gone and money had become ineffective at elections long before his power was es-

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tablished. Civil-service reform and the secret ballot had substantially destroyed the value of office-getting influence and the utility of corrupt practices on Election Day, at a time when Mr. Platt's political fortunes were at their lowest ebb. That he was jealous of the right to decide upon whom the distinction should fall of holding prominent places in the public service is not denied. It is equally true that he did what he could to provide funds for the use of the organization on Election Day, but the exercise of his influence to control for this or that friend the appointment to those few places that remained out of the classified services was a distinct element of weakness to him from the day of his compact with General Harrison, at least to that of his second election to the Senate; and he never was able to obtain money enough to pay for the services on Election Day of as many as four workers to a polling-place. There never was an electoral contest in New York State during the period of Platt's domination when his organization had money enough to pay for the adequate circulation of literature and the expenses of an effective speakers' bureau.

The forces, to the maintenance of which his power is commonly imputed, were not its causes, but merely its manifestations. He came into the leadership because, at a time when the party was weak, when its voters were both listless and broken into factions, when its organization was disrupted, and those who might have led had given over their opportunity and had withdrawn themselves into discouraged retirement, Mr. Platt had the motive, the interest, the ambition and the personal force to draw to himself, first in plans to guide the Legislature, and later in plans to control the State Committee, a little band of trained, able and adventurous politicians; and he held the leadership because the indifference of the party and of those who were or might have been its leaders in those days of party weakness allowed the plans of this small band of politicians to succeed. Those small, early successes, first in the Legislature and in matters that did not seem of the greatest importance, later in the State Committee and in matters that did not seem at the time to include its control, led by the mere force of gravitation to rapid accessions in one Congress district after another, until, as Senator Platt himself expressed it, "one day everybody, friend and foe, began to call me 'boss.'"

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It was the defeat of Arthur, the nomination of Blaine, the success of Cleveland, the State domination of Hill, those four years of Republican weakness from 1884 to 1888, that gave to Platt his opportunity, and he grasped it when he led the delegates of the State of New York into Harrison's camp and made Harrison's nomination a fact.

After that event and until, in sheer physical weakness, he began to weary of it all, his leadership could not be successfully disputed, for reasons that were wholly personal to himself and were the natural elements of his character and his title to fame and position; and I state them in the order of their importance as they appeared to my observation of him.

The first was his unfailing good judgment at critical moments and in things of the highest importance. At such times and in such matters he would seem to have little or no animation, but he knew just what he was going to do, and nothing changed his purpose or seemed even to divert his attention. The heathen raged and the people imagined a vain thing, but he did not appear to know what they were talking about. If the idea of failure, of not being able to control the machinery necessary to success crossed his mind, nobody could see it. In little things, on small occasions, he was often arrogant, peremptory, irritable, but when he faced a crisis or when he had a really big undertaking on his hands he was quiet, conciliatory, open to any suggestion, ready for any concession that did not compromise or embarrass the ultimate at which he was aiming. That his judgment, both of measure and of means, was good is proved by the fact that the things he did—I shall speak of them specifically in a moment—are permanent. They endure so well that nobody seriously offers to change them.

The second of the qualities that he possessed in a remarkable degree was patience. He was always prompt, but never in a hurry. Waiting, when he knew what he was waiting for, never tired him. When his enemies were exhausting themselves in premature plunges, he was sitting still, attentive to see when the time was ripe. There was never a time from the day he and Mr. Conkling left Albany in disgraceful defeat when his eyes and his resolution were not fixed on that seat in the Senate. Twice he might have tried for it, and once, when Frank Hiscock was elected, with what his friends believed was a good chance

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of success; but an election to the Senate was not all his ambition demanded. He had determined to achieve an election so nearly unanimous, so little the subject of contest, either on his own part to get the place or on anybody's else to keep it from him, that friend could proudly claim and foe might not deny that it was the seal of his undisputed leadership. This was the secret of his refusal to become a candidate for Governor in 1896. It was a Presidential year. McKinley had been nominated, and long before the State convention met the assurances were complete of an overwhelming Republican victory. He realized also that to take the field for Governor and to be elected by the people would be the best answer he could make to all the charges that had ever been brought against his personality and his title to chieftainship in his party. He was conscious, moreover, that his was an executive ability, and that he could do more and do better in the office of Governor than in that of United States Senator. But his habit of tenacious purpose and patient pursuit was so strong in him that he could not bring himself to yield even to a keener ambition, and to accept a certain and immediate opportunity in place of an uncertain and remote one. It is not often that the act of Cæsar putting aside the crown comes within one's personal observation, but the little group of party-leaders who sat with Mr. Platt in the conference room at Worden's Hotel, at Saratoga Springs, at the Convention of 1896, saw it in highly dramatic detail.

Mr. Platt's third important characteristic was his loyalty. It is comparatively easy for a man whose obligations are limited to maintain a reputation for fidelity, but it is another matter when he is at the head of a great political organization, almost every important member of which, consciously or unconsciously, is looking for some form of appreciation and thinks that it merely awaits his complaisant nod. In maintaining his position with his friends and supporters, Mr. Platt's distrust of articulate expression stood him in good stead. What he said and what he did not say were equally plain. Subsequent explanation was rarely called for, and in equal proportion he gave and accepted confidence. What he said he meant, and he went on meaning it, no matter how greatly the conditions changed nor how difficult it became to give effect to his meaning. He not only meant it and kept on meaning it, but he remembered that he meant it, and remembered it

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especially well at the right time. The sincerity that he impressed upon others he imputed to them; men saw that he believed them, and it was remarkable how rarely he was deceived. Persons the most casual became guarded, careful and precise in their conversation with him. Dishonest ones, those who came to him with the purpose of misleading him, saw at once that if they did it this time they would never have the chance of doing it again. He was more sensible of this gift, the gift of begetting and holding the confidence of men generally, than of any other with which he was endowed. It was idle for Jones to tell him that Smith was about to go astray after he had himself received Smith's satisfactory assurances; and Smith's chance of arousing suspicion against Jones was equally slim. It constantly happened, indeed, that both Smith and Jones were right, each in his judgment of the other's perfidious purpose; and yet, when the test came, Mr. Platt's confidence in them and in what they had said to him, and his look of mild surprise when they began to hint at some other intention, finally held them both, in spite of their mutual aversions, to him and to their original promise.

I shall not claim that Mr. Platt's ideals were the highest to which a noble imagination can attain, but they were decent and there was no humbug about them. He had no sympathy with graft or grafters, but he did not affect to believe that everybody was a knave whose purposes and ambitions happened to conflict with his; and it was his fortune, and often his misfortune, to be mentally incapable of thinking ill of a friend. It is conceded by his most implacable enemies that the notion of pecuniary profit never entered into Mr. Platt's calculations or conduct, and, himself free of such motives, he was slow to suspect them of others. Count it a virtue or count it a fault, it was a phase of his loyalty and an element of his nature that he had no room in his mind for friendship and suspicion at the same time. Of his friends he never inquired their reasons; his mind was sufficiently occupied considering whether what they wanted was a thing that he could promote consistently with his other obligations.

His fourth distinguishing characteristic is not expressible in a single word. It is not to be called charity. It was not precisely a forgiving disposition. It was rather a trait which led him to consider that the retention of an enmity, the harboring of a grudge, the keeping alive of a resentment after the incident

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in which it had originated had passed and gone, was scarcely worth his while. He could be intensely angry, bitter and vindictive while the fight was on; nor would his opinion of his adversaries materially change when it was over; but when he had won out, he was always ready to shake hands and, at times, to do something more substantial. To this quality in Senator Platt many virtuous persons owe their present eminence. He did not quite forgive nor quite forget, but it seemed to him that there was a good deal of room in the world and that he only wanted his fair share of it. He had two definite sentiments, perfectly simple and easily understood, not gloriously lofty, but not at all to be despised—faith in the Republican party and a keen enjoyment of the sense of power. For the satisfaction of these he was ready to give and take in friendship and in fight.

With this nature, with these motives and with this equipment, Senator Platt, in the course of his Republican leadership, did three things. He took the liquor question out of party politics and settled it in New York State in a way that quieted the Prohibitionists, removed from the Republican party the menace of their activity and so connected the sale of liquor with the payment of the expenses of government as permanently to discourage the further agitation of the liquor question in this State. He created the Greater New York. He prevented the nomination of McKinley on a platform that would have conceded something to the advocates of free silver. And the period that was distinguished by his accomplishment of these three things, a period of nearly twenty years, knew no successful resistance to his leadership in the Republican party in New York, and the acts of that party under his leadership met with public endorsement at the polls.

The idea of a uniform tax on the sale of liquor, and of a tax which should subject it to State supervision, while at the same time continuing to localities the support they had formerly derived from the traffic, came to Senator Platt, I must admit, as the result of Governor Hill's destructive criticism of the high-license legislation. Governor Hill's statement of his objection to a law that tolerated the sale of twenty-cent damnation in a gilded palace, where the nude pictures were tapestries and oil-paintings, but which rendered impossible the sale of five-cent damnation in a dingy basement, where the suggestive ornaments were mere chromos, set Senator Platt at work, and he set John Raines at

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work to devise a bill that would not be subject to this democratical criticism, a bill that would destroy the local excise boards, and the relation between them and the police on the one hand and the saloons on the other, and a bill that would be so profitable to the State and to the cities and counties, that its repeal would necessarily raise the whole question of State and local taxation. I do not mean to take away from Senator Raines and his associates in the Legislature any of the credit that belongs to them for this remarkable piece of legislation, but I mean to accord to Mr. Platt the credit of having perceived, with whatever assistance he may have had from the results of legislation elsewhere, that it was this kind of liquor law which in New York State would provide a practical permanent solution of the liquor question, would take the saloon power away from Tammany Hall in New York City and would paralyze the Prohibitionists by throwing on them, in their advocacy of the moral side of the question, the necessity of finding a substitute in revenue-producing legislation for this new tax on the sale of liquor. He was reaching for a law that would lift the burden of any tax whatever for State purposes from the farms and village homes throughout New York. He knew that if he got that, and if, at the same time, he could weaken Tammany's control of the saloon-keeper's activity on Election Day, nothing less than a Democratic tidal wave could defeat him and his organization in the State of New York. And he was right about it.

I do not mean to detract an iota from the just fame of Andrew H. Green in giving to Senator Platt the credit of creating Greater New York. But Mr. Green and many such noble men might still be crying from the housetops, and New York would still be only Manhattan and the Bronx if it had not been for Mr. Platt. The Republican party up the State was hard to convince of the desirability of welding together these communities, and nothing Mr. Platt ever undertook cost more effort or gave him more anxiety than this legislation. That it is permanent can hardly be doubted, but it remains, as to its wisdom, the most questionable of his personal achievements.

In Mr. Platt's own view, the results of his work on the occasion of the first nomination of McKinley were the most gratifying of his entire political career. When the National Committee met to call the Convention of 1896, and for a time there-

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after he really believed that he and his allies could defeat McKinley, and his hope was to nominate Thomas B. Reed, for whom he entertained the most profound admiration. He knew that he was beaten, however, long before the convention met, and it may be that the instinct which led him to continue his opposition, nevertheless, and to keep Quay, Lodge and the other State leaders who were in the combination to theirs was not especially praiseworthy. It probably had no higher origin than the notion that he could make better terms with Mr. Hanna after the convention and before Election Day than he could at any time before the convention with Mr. Hanna, knowing that the nomination was secure. But Mr. Platt came to regard his course of conduct in this respect as providential. There is no use denying that the financial plank which the McKinley managers intended to adopt was a straddle. There is no use denying that Mr. McKinley's record in Congress had been a straddle. There is no use denying that the Republican party in Congress, and up to the very moment when Thomas C. Platt, Henry Cabot Lodge and Matthew Stanley Quay declared that if the proposed plank were actually reported they would bring in a minority resolution and vote Pennsylvania, New York and New England against the platform—there is no use denying that up to that very minute the Republican party had wobbled on the financial issue and had conceded enough to the advocates of free silver to give point and face to their argument. I don't mean to say that Mr. Hanna was at heart any less a gold-standard man than Mr. Platt was, but Mr. Hanna had on his shoulders the responsibility of McKinley's nomination, and the delegates from every mountain and prairie State were whispering caution, telling him that the words "gold standard" in the platform would lose their States to the Republican party. Mr. Platt met this with that hard-set resolution which had the effect of making him look ten times stronger than he really was. He couldn't argue, so he didn't. He simply said to Mr. Hanna, and said it to him directly and personally: "You must bring in a gold-standard plank or you must reject one; the responsibility is yours, the votes are yours; do what you think best." If he had never done anything else than this, if his title to public credit began and ended here, it would be enough to make him a respectable figure in American politics.

LEMUEL ELY QUIGG.

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THE CRISIS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

"THE homely old phrase," said the "Times" of April 2nd, "'All at sixes and sevens' best sums up the situation." I have no fault whatever to find with this diagnosis of the present state of British politics. They are, in sober fact, an illimitable chaos. The only sure and incontrovertible thing about them is that there must shortly be another General Election, a General Election which nobody in or out of Parliament wants, yet which every one agrees is inevitable. It may even have come before this article appears in print. It may be held over until May and compete, if anything could compete, with the overwhelming welcome that is being prepared for Mr. Roosevelt. It may even be postponed till June. But that it is a certainty of the near future is a fact which all parties accept with such resignation as they can muster. The gloomier prophets draw an even more disheartening picture. They assert that the next appeal to the country will produce, like the last, an indecisive result; that the people are not likely to alter in May or June the verdict they registered in January: that the Irish Nationalists will return once more from the polls the masters of British politics; that all the confusion in which the country now finds itself will be renewed and duplicated; and that the only way out of the tangle will be yet another General Election—the third in the course of a single year. That is an appalling prospect, but no one would venture to call it incredible. With British parties and policies in their existing condition nothing is incredible. The Lords were warned that if they rejected the Budget they must inevitably raise issues, the settlement of which would plunge the nation for many months, possibly for many years, to come, in a whirlpool of domestic distraction. The warning was disregarded,

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and the country in consequence is to-day, and will long remain, in the throes of a revolution, a peacable revolution, but fraught, none the less, with results of incalculable significance to the British State.

With the interplay of the various elements and forces that constitute a crisis that has no precedent in British history, Americans can hardly be expected to concern themselves. To show why it is that a Government with a paper majority of 124 is yet impotent and discredited; to trace the cleavages in the Cabinet and in the party between those who think it sufficient to restrict the legislative powers of the House of Lords and those who think that the Upper Chamber should also be reformed; to explain all that has followed from the fact that the Irish Nationalists, who compose two-thirds of the Government's majority and can at any moment convert it into a minority by voting in the Opposition lobby, while as zealous as most Liberals, and more zealous than a good many, for the abolition of the Lords' effective veto on legislation, are also hostile to the Budget, which all Liberals and all the Labor men look upon as a point of honor to pass; to estimate the extent to which Mr. Redmond's influence and strategy have been affected by the rise of the O'Brienites in his rear and by the virtual bankruptcy of the Nationalist exchequer; to explore the hidden but potent effects of the unwillingness of the Opposition to assume office in the event of Mr. Asquith's resignation; to unravel, in short, the skein of a political situation in which every day produces a new complication—all this, while an engrossing task for an observer on the spot, would scarcely, I imagine, interest and would almost certainly confuse lookers-on three thousand miles away. I pass by, therefore, much that forms the staple theme of newspaper writing and lobby gossip—the manœuvres, the deals, the negotiations with this section and that, and so on—and devote this article to some of the broader features of the crisis.

Its first and most momentous development is that the Lords, by voluntary resolution, have signed away their legislative birthright. On March 14th Lord Rosebery, speaking with the weight both of an ex-Premier and of one who has consistently advocated the reform of the House of Lords and whose action, therefore, could not be assailed at any point as a mere move in the game of party, submitted the following motion:

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That the House do resolve itself into a Committee to consider the best means of reforming its existing organization, so as to constitute a strong and efficient Second Chamber; and in the event of such motion being agreed to, to move the following resolutions:

(1) That a strong and efficient Second Chamber is not merely an integral part of the British Constitution, but is necessary to the well-being of the State and to the balance of Parliament.

(2) That such a Chamber can best be obtained by the reform and reconstitution of the House of Lords.

(3) That a necessary preliminary of such reform and reconstitution is the acceptance of the principle that the possession of a Peerage should no longer of itself give the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords.

Of these resolutions the third was, of course, by far the most important. After a brilliant debate, it was carried by 175 to 17, the first two resolutions having been adopted unanimously. It is true that those who took part in the division represented less than a third of the entire House, that Lord Lansdowne declared that it was possible for any Peer to vote for the resolution "with the full intention of afterwards proposing that the House should consist entirely of hereditary Peers," that between adopting such a resolution and agreeing upon a definite scheme of reorganization there is a very wide gulf; and that the temper of the debate showed very little sympathy with the objections which the Liberal party takes to the House of Lords, namely, that apart altogether from its composition and the hereditary principle, it is a permanently partisan Assembly preponderantly in favor of one party and one special group of interests. Nevertheless, the fact that the Lords have resolved that the right to legislate shall no longer be an appurtenance of a Peerage is a fact of the utmost moment in British Constitutional history. The primary idea, as Freeman called it, of the English Peerage, the characteristic that has differentiated it from the ordinary type of nobility in other lands, where the aristocracy rests on rank and privilege alone, is its political power. For the Lords to divest themselves of this power, to go on record with the admission that a Peer merely because he is a Peer should no longer be entitled to sit and vote in the Upper Chamber, is therefore a development of the highest significance. All Englishmen felt, when they saw the

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figures for and against Lord Rosebery's motion, that whatever might be its immediate outcome, something had been done which could never be undone, and that the discussion of the House of Lords question must henceforward proceed on the basis of the acknowledgment that the hereditary principle was outworn and that the time has come to modify or discard it.

And yet the action of the Lords in thus passing what is virtually a vote of no confidence in themselves has something of the aspect, as the Liberals have been quick to point out, of a *non-sequitur*. Less than five months ago they felt strong enough to violate all tradition and all the accepted axioms of the Constitution by refusing to pass the Budget. To-day they make the collective admission that the principle which for centuries has governed their composition must be diluted or abandoned. Less than five months ago they wrought a revolution. To-day they confess themselves unfit to carry on the ordinary business of government. And in the interval what has happened? Have not the Lords been hailed as the saviors of their country? Has not every building in the kingdom echoed with glorifications of the hereditary theory and with gratitude to the Lords for daring to do their duty? Did they not refer the Budget to the people, and have not the people abundantly justified their boldness by electing a House of Commons that contains a considerable majority hostile to the Budget? Did not the Peers themselves venture on the platform, extolling the virtues of the Upper Chamber and contrasting its calm impartiality with the immoderate impulses and the gross partisanship that afflict the House of Commons? Why, then, this sudden conviction of unworthiness? Well, there are several reasons for it. In the first place, the more far-seeing Peers realize perfectly well that the British democracy will not allow the power of the purse, and with it the power of unmaking Governments, to be vested in an Assembly constituted as the House of Lords now is, an Assembly that stands altogether outside the representative principle, that is wholly non-elective and indissoluble and that can never, therefore, be called to account. In the second place, all the Peers who in the past have taken up the question of reforming the House of Lords from within have been stimulated to fresh activities by the prospect of having it reformed from without. In the third place, the Peers find themselves confronted by a House-of-

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Commons majority of 120 Liberals who, if they are at odds on other questions, are unanimous in their determination to abolish the Lords' veto on finance and restrict it on everything else. The success of Lord Rosebery's resolution was, therefore, in part the result of an uneasy conscience, in part of a sincere belief in the necessity of reform, and in part of a shrewd perception that in the long run the House of Lords could only retain its legislative powers intact by changing its composition. How far Lord Rosebery will succeed in the infinitely more difficult part of his task —that of elaborating a scheme of reorganization that will be acceptable to the Peers, that will satisfy moderate opinion in the country and that will be something more than the "sham" and the "coat of democratic whitewash" that the Liberals are pronouncing it to be—though I may add that it has not yet been produced and that they cannot, therefore, know anything about it—remains to be seen. What, however, is already certain is that the ex-Premier, by his courage and prescience, has contrived to pit the reform of the House of Lords against the abolition or restriction of its legislative powers, and that it is along these two lines that the battle henceforward will proceed—the Conservatives, of course, siding with the reform of the Upper House from within and the Liberals being mainly intent on depriving it of the power to reject any measure that has passed the House of Commons in three successive sessions.

Almost every journal and politician in the country has some scheme or other to propose for reforming the House of Lords and determining the powers it is to possess. I do not propose to enumerate these multitudinous essays, much less examine them. But it may, perhaps, be of service if I attempt to indicate very roughly what I conceive to be the preponderant opinion of the country on the general question. The nation, I believe, has pretty well made up its mind that the House of Lords needs reorganizing, with a view to diminishing its size, to getting rid of its indifferent members, to correcting its political partisanship and its excessive representation of the views and interests of a particular class, and to bringing it more directly under the operation of public opinion. But it has no desire to erect a brand-new Second Chamber or even to make the House of Lords preponderantly elective by popular vote. The instinct of Englishmen has always been to defer change till the last possible mo-

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ment and then to effect it gradually and in small instalments. I see little reason as yet to think that this instinct is exhausted. The country, as a whole, wishes to preserve and not to destroy the historical continuity of the House of Lords, and, at the same time, to bring it rather more into line with the instincts and requirements of a modern democratic State. If, for instance, the House of Lords were to be reduced to a membership of, say, 300; if two-thirds of these were to be elected by the Peers from among the members of their own order; and if the remaining one-third were to be nominated by the Crown or elected by groups of constituencies or of local bodies for the period of each Parliament—if something of this kind were to be done, the British people, in my judgment, would be well satisfied. The result would not, of course, be an "impartial" Second Chamber—there never has been or can be an impartial Second Chamber. It would not be a Liberal Second Chamber—a Liberal Second Chamber is all but a contradiction in terms. But though its tone would be rightly and preponderantly Conservative, it would be freed to some extent from its subjection to the Conservative party; it would be strong in the consciousness that a large minority of its members were drawn at first or second hand from the people; it would be able—and this is what the country wants—to assert itself in the interests of the nation against the excesses of both parties.

As to the powers that such an Assembly should possess, I think one may fairly lay it down that the majority of Englishmen wish them to be real powers—powers not only of criticism, amendment and delay, but of rejection. Great Britain will never tolerate any plan that establishes the unchecked omnipotence of the House of Commons. Neither will it permit the House of Lords to become the predominant partner in the State or put it in a position to thwart the settled will of the country. But that the Upper Chamber must have the right to refer to the electorate measures of far-reaching import that have not received the approval of the nation, seems to most Englishmen as vital as that it should cease to oppose a measure that has once been ratified by the people at the polls. In other words, the country, so far as I can read its mind, is content that the Lords should continue to retain the powers it already possesses. It knows that the characteristic of the House of Lords hitherto has been not tyranny,

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but timidity; it is well aware that on many occasions it has proved a truer exponent of the national will than the House of Commons; and it is less disturbed by the Lords' occasional rejection of Liberal measures than by their uniform and uncritical acceptance of whatever Bills a Conservative Government may please to submit to them. It concludes, therefore, that the Upper House, and especially an Upper House reformed on the lines already indicated, may safely exercise the powers of not alone revising, altering and delaying the measures sent to it, but also of rejecting them and of referring them to the supreme tribunal of the people. But should this apply to measures of finance? Should the Lords be permitted to keep the right of rejecting the Budget and of thus forcing a dissolution and bringing the machinery of Government to a standstill? I find it difficult to say what the country thinks on this part of the problem. Personally I incline strongly to the view that the financial veto of the Lords should be not merely restricted, but abolished; and such I believe, but dare not confidently assert, to be the view which will ultimately prevail. Apart, however, from this, I detect no real movement of opinion in favor of cutting down the legislative prerogatives of the House of Lords.

Assuming this diagnosis of public opinion to be substantially correct, let us now consider what it is the Government proposes. On March 29th Mr. Asquith moved: "That this House will immediately resolve itself into a Committee to consider the relations between the two Houses of Parliament and the question of the duration of Parliament." It was announced, at the same time, that the resolutions to be proposed in Committee were three in number. The first declared the expediency of disabling the House of Lords by law from rejecting or amending a Money Bill; defined a Money Bill; and left it to the Speaker to decide whether any given measure came within the definition. The second resolution restricted the powers of the House of Lords as respects Bills other than Money Bills, "so that any such Bill which has passed the House of Commons in three successive sessions, and having been sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session, has been rejected by that House in each of these sessions, shall become law without the consent of the House of Lords on the Royal Assent being declared, provided that at least two years shall have elapsed between

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the date of the first introduction of the Bill in the House of Commons and the date on which it passes the House of Commons for the last time." This resolution also stated that a Bill should be considered as rejected by the House of Lords, unless it passed either without amendment or with only such amendments as both Houses might agree upon. The third and final resolution limited the duration of Parliament to five years.

The debate on the motion that the House should resolve itself into a Committee to consider these resolutions reached an extraordinary high standard even for an Assembly with the traditions of the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith's motion was eventually adopted on April 4th by a majority of 106—practically the full strength of the Government forces; and the House, as I write, is preparing to discuss the resolutions one by one. That they will all have been carried by the time these lines are read may be taken for granted. When carried they will be sent at once up to the House of Lords, and the Lords will either reject them outright or simply decline to consider them until the Bills which are to be based upon them have also been passed by the Lower House. In any case, it will be made perfectly clear that the Lords have no intention of signing the warrant for their execution. What will the Government do then? Will Mr. Asquith resign office, dissolve Parliament or do as Mr. Redmond wishes him to do—that is, approach the King with a request for guarantees that the resolutions and the Bills founded on them, if endorsed by the people at the polls, shall become law? Nobody knows. Nobody can know until, for one thing, it is seen whether the Irish Nationalists have been propitiated into allowing last year's Budget to pass. If they remain obdurate on that point, the Government may be thrown out when the motion for allotting a specified portion of Parliamentary time to the discussion of the Budget comes to be debated in the House of Commons.

The most hardened political prophet might well hesitate in the face of the innumerable possibilities of the situation to venture on any definite forecast. For myself I indulge in no predictions as to how or when or in what form the fluidity of the present chaos will ultimately solidify. My purpose for the moment is merely that of pointing out the lines along which the greatest Constitutional crisis that has confronted England for

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two hundred years seems destined to proceed. On the one hand, there are the Lords, backed by the Conservative party, formulating a scheme for changing the composition of the Upper House, but tenaciously resisting any invasion of its legislative powers. On the other hand, are the Liberals insisting that the Lords shall be forbidden by statute to amend or reject a Money Bill, and that any measure passed in three successive sessions by the House of Commons shall become law at the end of two years from the date of its first introduction, whether the Lords consent or no?

Here obviously are issues and policies that go down to the very roots of government, and I shall hope in a future article to examine their significance and their feasibility or otherwise in the general scheme of the British State.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BIOGRAPHY.

To his various and valuable studies in Italian life and history, Mr. Edward Hutton now adds a most interesting and well-written "Life of Boccaccio."*

Italy led the renascence of learning, of literature and high art in Europe, and the study and knowledge of Italian sources is the natural beginning of all knowledge of English literature, of all European civilization and art; in fact, Chaucer's debt to Boccaccio is too well known to need repetition, and the fact that the Reeve's tale and the Franklin's tale are as likely to have derived from the French "Fabliaux" as from Boccaccio himself does not lessen the debt. Griselda walked direct out of the "Decameron," and the Knight's Tale amounts to a transcription of the "Teseide."

"The Study of an Heroic Life" Mr. Hutton calls his book in his dedication, and an heroic life it is; a prolonged struggle with poverty, neglect, lack of appreciation, unsatisfactory human relations and—may one add, perhaps?—a total lack of due self-appreciation. For to the end of his life Boccaccio was unaware of his own standing as the peer of the Petrarch, in another field of endeavor, of his own pre-eminence as the originator of a classic and elegant prose style, as the father of modern humanism. "Full of laughter, humility and love," as his biographer says, Boccaccio in some sort prefigured the modern attitude toward life, that feeling that life itself is so much bigger than men, that humanity's place in the procession of events is, after all, but a minor one, and that our part in the universe is not one to make

* "Giovanni Boccaccio." By Edward Hutton. New York: John Lane Company, 1910.

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us too haughty. The "Decameron," the great and various book by which his name is known, is, after all, but a small portion of his colossal life labor in the Latin and in the Tuscan tongues. His *"De Montibus," "Sylvis," "Fontibus," "Lacubus," "Stagnis seu Paludibus," "De Nominibus Maris Liber," "De Casibus Virorum Illustrium," "De Claris Mulieribus," "De Genealogiis Deorum"* by themselves would form a gigantic life-work of learning. In these works, however, he is chiefly a follower and a disciple of Petrarch, taking, as did Bacon after him, "all knowledge for his province" and ordering and setting together all those notes which are no less than a basis of modern culture. But it is as the creative author of "Fiammetta" and the "Decameron" that his name will live forever. Scholars make a link in the chain of human knowledge and have no separate names, but a creator is a sparkling jewel in the chain, marked forever as a break in its uniformity.

Born in all probability in 1313 in Paris, of a father who was a Florentine banker of importance and later on one of the five *Consiglieri,* and still later a representative of the Società de Bardi in Naples and well known to King Robert, very little is known of Boccaccio's mother. Mr. Hutton thinks the evidence leans to declaring her a girl of Paris belonging, perhaps, to the *haute Bourgeoisie,* and it is a mooted point whether his father and mother were ever married. Supposedly biographical passages in the *"Filocolo"* and the *"Ameto"* might point to this conclusion. At any rate, whether or not a natural son, Boccaccio's father to the end seems to have had forethought and care for this son who upset all his plans for himself and failed in every way to carry out the father's preconceived notions of either a commercial or diplomatic career.

The main point in Boccaccio's career was his love for Fiammetta, a much more human and realistic incentive to poetry and thought as it is handled by Mr. Hutton than it appears in the pages of John Addington Symonds's book on "Boccaccio as Man and Author." After the manner of those days, Fiammetta appeared to Boccaccio in a dream when he was no more than a lad of ten years.

"As I passed on my way there appeared to the eyes of my mind a most beautiful girl, in aspect gracious and fair, dressed all in garments of green, which befitted her age and recalled the ancient dress of the

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city; and with joy she gave me welcome, first taking me by the hand, and she kissed me and I her; and then she said, sweetly, 'Come where you shall find good luck and happiness.'"

It was seven years later that he met Fiammetta in the flesh and crowned his youthful and lighter loves with a lifelong passion and devotion far from bringing nothing but luck and happiness, but doing more, perhaps, than any other external factor to turn an exuberant youth into a great man of letters.

Mr. Hutton's book is faithfully and well done, and is the more interesting that there is practically no other English biography of Boccaccio's to compare it with except that of Symonds's, which was done with insufficient data and facilities. It is, therefore, the first real attempt at a complete and reliable English biography of the great subject, and whether in the end it turns out to be the authoritative biography or not, it is informing and interesting reading.

One word of appreciation is due to the quaint and interesting woodcuts reproduced from illustrations of the early editions of Boccaccio. Mr. Hutton, in his preface, deplores the fact that he could not make of his illustrations a real chapter on Boccaccio and his relation to the fine arts. The matter he found too big for the present work; but the quaint and early woodcuts, many of them dating back as far as the early fifteenth century, add charm and value to the present volume.

Perhaps the frequent pictures of the great and unamiable Dr. Johnson* lend the chief value to this picture of life. A brilliant and unhappy woman, so well known as a *sàlonière* that to relinquish that vocation made her appear to her contemporaries at least finally disgraced, Mrs. Thrale was, in despite of her biographer's able defence, not a lovable woman. She failed as a wife, as a friend and as a mother, and that she was herself uncomfortable and unhappy seems hardly an adequate excuse. Having made a loveless marriage, her cool and impartial judgments of her husband are more amusing than commendable; her careless relation to her daughters, whom she always speaks of as "the young ladies," is unnatural, and she was not above making scenes

* "Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale." By A. M. Broadley. New York: John Lane Company, 1910.

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in her own house when her husband's attentions to other ladies annoyed her.

"I retired [from her own dinner-table!] to the drawing-room, where I contended an hour or two with my vexation . . . till Johnson and Burke came up. On seeing them, I determined to give a *jobation* to both, but fixed on Johnson for my choice, and asked him if he noticed what passed, what I had suffered, and whether, allowing for the state of my nerves, I was much to blame. He answered, 'Why, possibly not; your feelings were outraged.' I answered: 'Yes, greatly so; and I cannot help remarking with what blandness and composure you witnessed the outrage. Had this transaction been told of others your anger would have known no bounds, but toward a man who gives you good dinners you are blandness and meekness itself.'"

At this, she comments, Johnson colored and both the men looked foolish. On the whole, probably Miss Seward was justified in writing that Johnson's love for Mrs. Thrale was composed of "cupboard love, platonic love and vanity tickled and gratified from morn to night by incessant homage." "He loved her, in fact, for her comfortable home, her good table, her coach and her library, and she loved him for the literary *éclat* his friendship threw about her home." The larger part of this volume is taken up by Mrs. Thrale's heretofore unpublished journal of the tour through Wales with her husband, daughter and Dr. Johnson, during which, she vivaciously observes, she had to be polite for four. The diary is full of detail, charm, quick observation and keen wit and compares favorably with the more ponderous record of the great doctor.

As we turn the last page of Professor Woodberry's "Life of Poe"* and meditate upon what he has told us, the book seems to possess one dominant tone—it leaves a definite feeling of justice done, a careful and exhaustive judicial scrutiny of the facts and an unbiassed charge to the jury to weigh with scrupulous care the evidence before returning a verdict for or against Poe. Professor Woodberry has been studiously alert in avoiding many of the pitfalls into which other biographers have fallen, probably the greatest of which is allowing a personal enthusiasm and admiration to creep in and so warp the judgment that the reader receives the testimony of the author with a certain hesitancy. Pro-

* "Life of Edgar Allan Poe." By Professor Woodberry. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1910.

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fessor Woodberry does not range himself on Poe's side, "right or wrong," to fight with blind idolatry. Had he done so he would have lost many battles which he has now won.

Looking at a list of our eminent men of letters, it is difficult to select one more urgently in need of an intelligent, diligent and unbiassed biographer than Poe. And looking still more closely, the retrospection forces upon us the conviction that it would be difficult to select another where the path of the biographer is strewn with so many and varied obstacles. Poe was so unsatisfactory, his life formed such a network and snarl of contradictions, that it seems almost impossible to unravel it. Hardly a single cord can be loosened and followed without rendering the entire mass more tangled and confused. The events of his life bring to mind those Æschylean tragedies in which man is subordinated to a supreme conflict; and his actions, while apparently voluntary, are nevertheless but the exponents of powerful opposing agents swaying him to an irresistible and predestined course. Poe appears as if struggling in some terrific maelstrom (such as he himself has so vividly described) which whirls him onward with ever-increasing rapidity and superhuman power to his doom. Any logical analysis of his character is impossible and Professor Woodberry has wisely not attempted one. It is not difficult to realize why Poe was misunderstood, for he was unique and no one could sound the depths of that strange, mysterious and complex nature. Neither his wife nor Mrs. Clemm understood him, nor did they try to find a solution. They were conscious of but one emotion—they loved him—and the magic of that spell left all else unsought and undesired. So far as any one is able to solve this problem, Professor Woodberry has well and faithfully accomplished the task; and all men, especially the admirers of Poe, are under a lasting debt of gratitude to him for his scholarly research, untiring diligence and impartial sifting of the wheat from the chaff.

If, indeed, Professor Woodberry's opinion of Poe's work, even where that work is most distinguished, is remarkable more for careful and just moderation than for fervor, yet it always bears with it a conviction of sincerity and honesty and is received with the deference which is always due to such opinions. Praise is bestowed graciously where Professor Woodberry believes it is merited, and it is given with a composure and dignity pleasing at

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all times, but admirable in a book of this character. The various works of Poe are taken up, reviewed and commented upon. The events of Poe's life are treated in the same way. The testimony is heard in open court, the documentary proof is produced—and it is often of Pantagruelian proportions—nothing is concealed, nothing extenuated. There are no signs of undue haste or vacillation, and one cannot doubt for a moment Professor Woodberry's intimate knowledge and mastery of his subject.

Nearly two generations have passed since the untimely and tragic ending of Poe's life in the hospital at Baltimore; and the sixty intervening years have not dimmed, but enhanced, the lustre of his genius. Sufficient time has elapsed since his death for the exaggerations concerning his habits and weaknesses to assume more normal and just proportions. The chasm which then divided the admirers from the detractors of Poe is being bridged. The Chauvinism of the former has become modified and the prejudices of the latter softened, and Professor Woodberry has revived the cherished hope that our descendants may see the day when those opposing factions meet midway upon this bridge with outstretched hands. We believe that Professor Woodberry has approached very near to that ideal biographer, which he describes in the preface of his book as being perfect in good sense, good-will and discretion.

A brilliant wit, a great beauty and an unhappy woman, it was not to be expected that the Hon. Mrs. Norton* should pass along the human path without being a mark for envy's shafts, a butt for malicious criticism. In these days when women are awaking to the fact that all the loyalty in the world has been the loyalty of men for men and women for men, nothing could be more instructive reading than the sufferings of this great and brilliant woman under the English laws and English social conventions. It speaks well for her gallant heart and high courage, as well as her wit and beauty, that, after all, she was victor in the long and terrible struggle.

Despite all denials, it is difficult in reading this first adequate life of Sheridan's splendid granddaughter not to identify her

* "The Life of Mrs. Norton." By Jane Grey Perkins. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909.

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with George Meredith's "Diana." Point for point they are alike; the extraordinary epigrammatic wit; the remarkable brunette type of beauty; the raven hair and splendid carriage (who can forget how often Diana "swam" and "floated" across rooms where ordinary mortals walk!); the unhappy marriage; the little habit of always appearing "r-r-really a little late" at social functions, even at dinners; the suspicion of having furnished the "Times" with the news of the prospective repeal of the corn laws; the literary career; the staunchness and indomitable courage —all these points belong equally to Diana and to Caroline Norton.

Probably very few people remember Mrs. Norton as the author of such popular poems as "My Beautiful, My Beautiful," "Bingen on the Rhine," "Juanita," "Love Not, Love Not," etc. While if one may judge from the extracts given from her unprocurable novels, there was meat in them to furnish forth a good half-dozen of the slim, modern product. Important, undoubtedly, in the modern suffrage movement would be her political pamphlets: "Separation of Mother and Child by the Law of Custody of Infants," "A Plain Letter to the Lord Chancellor," "Letters to the Mob," "A Letter to the Queen on Lord Cranworth's Marriage-and-Divorce Bill," etc., etc.

This "Life" is delightfully written. Miss Perkins had access to the letters and the works of Mrs. Norton, and it is not undue praise to say she has re-created for us a personality as vivid and vivifying as Diana herself.

To try to rehabilitate Verlaine* is an ungrateful task and it makes, at best, most unpleasant reading. Probably Verlaine the man had better be allowed to float away on the River of Lethe, while we retain whatever was worth knowing about him in his strange but wonderful lyric gift. M. Lepelletier was a life-long friend, and his attempt shows more loyalty than judgment. Verlaine was a subject for the pathologist, but hardly for the general reader.

Every age is dominated by some man or men who serve as its easily remembered representatives. Yet this is never quite fair

* "Paul Verlaine." By Edmond Lepelletier. Translated by E. M. Lang. New York: Duffield & Co., 1909.

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to an age, and some have distinctly suffered because of it. So the eighteenth century is rather slightly compared with the seventeenth or the sixteenth, because we unconsciously compare certain men who do not in reality admit of such treatment. Pope cannot be placed beside Dryden, nor are the courtiers of the Georges to be measured with the more picturesque figures of those of the two Charleses, and still less with those of Elizabeth.

In speaking of the eighteenth century, however, who does not immediately think of Hume, Pope, Chesterfield; and, above all else perhaps, of Horace Walpole, a thorough man of the world in a fine sense of the phrase, with his Memoirs, Letters and Journals* in which he gives so complete a picture of his time. And it was so unheroic a time! It repels rather than attracts. It touches neither the imagination nor the fancy, and even gives one a little qualm to think that human nature can be so seamy and ugly when one is privileged to have a private view. The truth is that in England the trail of the Georges is over the eighteenth century; and while not bad men exactly, they were, nevertheless, so unlovely, so selfish and so hopelessly stupid. Far worse men have been far better loved and more heartily served. Walpole's "Memoirs and Letters" justify the scathing indignation of Junius and the satirical contempt of Thackeray's "History of the Four Georges"—that history which closed for the time being so many fashionable doors to England's great novelist. And the "Last Journals" are but a supplementing of the "Letters," with the same kind of life both in color and quality. In a time of unblushing self-seeking, when men and women scarce troubled themselves to be even hypocrites, happy they who retained any moral sensibility and any nice discrimination between right and wrong. And this is what gives unusual value to Walpole's pages. The deeply clever and astute son of a really great father, in a time of corruption, he retained the sense of moral touch and gives many facets of a wonderful and instructive whole. Capable, as so few are, of learning from life direct, with a just and keen eye for that most elusive of all things, *character,* Walpole's "Journals," like his "Letters," are a treasure-trove to those who really know that "the proper study of mankind is man."

The relation of the individual to the mass, how from individual

* "Last Journals of Horace Walpole." Edited by Francis Stewart. New York: John Lane Company, 1910.

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desire and act may come those composite events which we call *history,* Walpole always clearly shows. The private story is always plainly to be seen behind the public act, as when he tells the story of his own niece Maria Walpole, Lady Waldegrave, whose secret marriage with the Duke of Gloucester, a brother of George III, and the marriage of Mrs. Horton to the Duke of Cumberland, another brother, led directly to the Royal-Marriage Act.

Walpole's judgment of his contemporaries was comprehensive and, in the main, fair, although he had, of course, his preferences and predilections. Of far finer sensibility than Chesterfield, Walpole's work holds a truer picture of a deeply interesting and significant age.

Perhaps no American has had as varied a diplomatic experience as the Hon. John W. Foster.* He was the American Minister to Mexico when Diaz established himself as President of the Republic; he was the American Minister at St. Petersburg at the time of the assassination of Alexander II; he was engaged in negotiating most of the late Reciprocity Treaties of the United States; he drafted a treaty for the annexation of Hawaii; he was the American agent at the Behring Sea Fur Seal Arbitration; he acted in a similar capacity before the Alaskan Boundary Arbitrators; he was Secretary of State during the last months of the administration of President Harrison; he represented China at the last Peace Conference; he was retained by China to advise both of the commissions which the Middle Kingdom sent to Japan to sue for peace during the last days of the Chinese-Japanese War, and rendered conspicuous service to his Imperial client. Mr. Foster is a close observer of political institutions; his accounts of the conditions in Spain and Mexico are particularly interesting. The picture he gives of Li Hung Chang is of absorbing interest. We cannot but regret that he has not given us more of the dialogue between the wily Li and the no less shrewd Ito. We feel that we have been merely allowed to taste. We would have enjoyed hearing more of the Chinese Cabinet. To enter into the secret portals of diplomacy

* "Diplomatic Memoirs of John W. Foster." New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1909.

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is always fascinating, and we know of no more agreeable or better qualified person to guide the layman than Mr. Foster.

FICTION.

"Candles in the Wind"* is visible proof that learning does not make a novelist, and that the story-telling gift nine times out of ten is as much born and not made as the poet's. The book gives every evidence of wide reading, much knowledge gathered together, a carefully chosen plot, minutely described characters and, in the main, good English. The fact remains that the book is sown through with wide tracts of intolerable dulness, and somehow, in despite of all the author's pains, one does not very much care what becomes of any of the characters. It is, however, a conscientious piece of work and adds one more to the pictures of India we already have from Kipling and Mrs. Steele.

Elizabeth Robins has come home, in her latest novel,† and dealt with the familiar case of the loyal American a little homesick for foreign parts. She has taken an interesting relation between women for her situation, and for her theme the always tragical love between elder woman and younger man. The treatment is reticent, very delicate, not without charm. Isabel Roscoe accepts the only possible solution, and the reader, while regretful, is perforce content, reflects that life is so and that we can, like these three, make of it a thing unspoiled and believe that somehow the price is repaid in good for the race. The book advocates no party doctrines and wants neither humor nor story. It is serious, very womanly, noble and fortifying.

REPRINTS OF GREAT BOOKS.

Aubrey Beardsley, who died at Keats's age of Keats's malady, had, like Keats, a genius of the first rank. This rare and ex-

* "Candles in the Wind." By Maud Diver. New York: John Lane Company, 1909.

† "The Florentine Frame." By Elizabeth Robins. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1909.

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traordinary talent flowered early and came to fruit, but hardly ripened before it dropped untimely. It was mistrusted, unappreciated and, worst of all, mispraised. He was as out of place in late Victorian England as a discalced Carmelite or a ragged Yogi. He had a greater gift of line than Europe had borne for four centuries; his affinities were all with the misunderstood, the unknown East. And as line is of all plastic arts the least material in its influences, the drawings of this sick boy are extraordinarily moving and troubling. They stir men's souls in undreamed-of ways. If he chose at times a morbid theme, it was not for corruption's sake, but because they were novel and so long untouched as to be quite fresh; and his best work is invariably wholesome: swift and subtle and edifying, as all great beauty must be. Strange indeed it is, haunting and stirring our dull and earth-bound souls, drawing us out of our miry and stodgy ways to the infinite enlargement of our consciousness. And because he was before all else an artist, the worst of his work, which is the sickest, has far more of beauty than of malady in it. The work on the "*Morte d'Arthur,*"* an early commission, dragged on through the whole of his short working life and mingles all strains and all styles. Here and there in the decorations a motive may occur too pagan or too *rococo* to suit the book it nominally illustrates, but for the most part the pages (as they turn) satisfy profoundly. Take for delicacy of line "Arthur and the Strange Mantle," or for Arabian fantasy "The Questing Beast," or for the brilliancy of the blacks "Morgan le Fay and Sir Tristram." Here is miraculous design and composition on every leaf. Here is work in white on black, in black on white, in pure line. Here in a square inch are words and gardens that you breathe the odor of; waters that you feel the winds across; the ominous light of stormy skies; the radiant calm of quiet sunsettings; the hush of twilight over folded hills. It is the record for who can read of infinite possibilities, rare, precious, unfulfilled.

The letterpress of the volume is beautiful enough to match the wonderful drawings, and the text follows exactly Sir Thomas Malory's as imprinted by William Caxton in 1485, the only change being modernized spelling. As a whole, there could be

* "*Le Morte d'Arthur.*" By Sir Thomas Malory, Kt. Introduction by Professor Rhys and illustrations by Aubrey Beardsley. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1909.

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no more adequate and delightful reprint of the great romantic tales.

Hard were it to say in what these "Italian Hours"* of Mr. James are most beautiful—pictures or text or informing spirit. They have the serenity of a wise and perfect maturity, and yet they have the scrupulous and self-conscious enjoyment that only youth is equal to. What with reminiscences and what with post-scripts, they cover at least forty years. Yet how they are of a piece! Their finest quality, perhaps, as it is the rarest in the world, is just the expression more than anything else of an attitude towards life. And such an attitude!—a sort of wise passiveness, a receptivity that accepts the moment for the moment's own sake. The attitude is unimpassioned to the pitch of intensity and catholic to the brink of indifference, and so charged with the sense of life that it affords no margin for incident or event. For better and for worse the hours have massed themselves, in the main, about that ripe and golden middle period—may one say also, where the book is so acutely personal, that golden and ripe middle age?—which many who profess themselves the author's lovers profess to love best among his "manners" and "periods." It is for better by reason of the deliberate, candid, serene apprehension of the multiplicity of life and the equipoise of interests; for worse by the conscious shrinking from the pang of possible passions, and the curious consequent delusion which we remember the late Matthew Arnold to have shared, that the middle age might have been dull. But let the passion only pass from the heart to the head, and who so passionate as our author in every exquisite sensibility? Here, as always, he stands fast by his American colors, his original American judgments of what is and is not, in respect of a moral citizenship, possible. He may sigh for the cardinal's purple stockings, but never for the temporal papacy; he may deplore the ugliness of the Piazza Michael Angelo, but never the routing out of the Mercato Vecchio. He has the tenderest deprecations, the sweetest charity, for the Kingdom of Italy and the needs of the Italian. The hours are

* "Italian Hours." By Henry James, with illustrations in color by Joseph Pennell. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1909.

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all golden and of the rarest stuff of life, and they testify that the best of life is, precisely, living.

Like a tree in unusual seasons, the "Mermaid Series" has suddenly and delightfully begun to grow again. At the moment it offers the whole body of Greene's* undisputed drama, with a long and carefully critical introduction. It is a long way from such genial and liberal essays of the old days, as Symonds and Swinburne, for instance, used to prefix to this ardent and argumentative editing; but old days are over and the critical apparatus is deftly handled. To have Greene handy and at hand is a great pleasure—Greene, who is really so sympathetic to us, with his ringing verses, his echoes of his betters and anticipations of the best; with his Anglo-Saxon humor, his equally racial sense for the world out-of-doors; best of all, his positively Victorian conception of wifely devotion and fresh-faced maidenhood.

This might be called the book of platitudes and paradoxes, for it aims not at novelty, but at certainty, and it comes fresher to us than anything written yesterday. The translation seems likely; at any rate, it is admirable; sententious, alive, compact of humor and dignity. To those unacquainted personally with the Chinese sage† it cannot be too heartily commended. It is the finest conceivable embodiment of the purely pagan spirit, the secular ideal of life. Neither Aristotle nor Dante, Browning nor Newman, makes a finer portrait of a gentleman. Courtesy, courage and culture—that is about the formula, but each virtue is at its highest power. "A gentleman is calm and spacious; the vulgar are always fretting." "Not for one moment may a gentleman sin against love; not in flurry and haste, nor yet in utter overthrow." "Rate the task above the prize." "The Master said: 'To learn the truth at daybreak and die at eve were enough.'" He sums up the gentleman in five paradoxes and then explains them thus: "To further what furthers the people, is not that kindness with-

* "Robert Greene." Edited with introduction and notes by Thomas H. Dickinson. "The Mermaid Series." London: T. Fisher Unwin. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

† "The Sayings of Confucius." Translated by Leonard A. Lyall. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909.

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out waste? If burdens be sorted to strength, who will grumble? To covet love and win love, is that sordid? Few or many, small or great, all is one to a gentleman; he dare not slight any man. Is not this to be high-minded and not proud? A gentleman straightens his robe and settles his face. He is stern and men look up to him with dread. Is not this to inspire awe and not fear?"

To sportsmen or to simple lovers of woods and dogs, deer and rabbits,* it is delightful to have the oldest English book on hunting brought within reach as the first edition of his reprint was not. Yet, barring size and splendor of effect, little is lost in the condensation. There are still many miniatures, delicious, often droll, always recognizable in respect of dogs and game both; there is still an appendix upon ancient terms of venery. And the book itself, which is just a younger contemporary of Chaucer's, has all Chaucer's freshness, love of the open sky and the fragrant woodland, all bird-song and dew and sun through greenery. Withal it has some surprises for the reader, even to the assumption that the huntsman when he gets home will want his bath before his bed. Pretty good, that, for early fifteenth-century England!

* "The Master of Game." By Edward, second Duke of York. Edited by William A. and F. Baillie-Grohman, with a foreword by Theodore Roosevelt. New York: Duffield & Co., 1909.

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THE INHERENT RIGHT.*

BY THE EDITOR.

It seemed to the Directors of the Equal Franchise Society that this, the last of the series of these meetings, should be addressed by one of their own number. That is why I was asked and consented to speak to you this afternoon. But when the time came to fix upon a specific subject, or rather a specific phase of the whole subject, I confess that I expressed no little difficulty. So well, so thoroughly, so accurately and so convincingly have the various aspects been presented to you that there seemed little or nothing left to say. Finally, I suggested "The Inherent Right," meaning, of course, the prerogative of every human being to stand upon a basis of perfect equality with respect to every privilege conferred by God or nature, or both, alongside any other human being, without regard to sex. With that purpose in mind, I formulated a thesis which naturally impressed me as being both convincing and conclusive. But a secondary thought arose—one better, perhaps, from the view-point of effectiveness. Why should I not endeavor to answer the direct question: What is the gain to be derived by civilization, from enabling women to exercise the electoral franchise? But the simplicity of the answer seemed to equal, if not indeed to surpass, the distinctness of the inquiry. Primarily the strengthening of the State, incidentally the benefiting of themselves, would be the response, each proposition being, in my judgment, capable of demonstration so definite as to persuade any honest mind. Yet again feeling that such a presentation might properly be regarded as unessential and even perhaps as superfluous, I concluded that, in view of the circumstances, I might better summarize briefly the results of the winter's work, and in passing touch upon the two phases, to which reference has been made.

* Speech of George Harvey to the Equal Franchise Society at the Garden Theatre, New York, Thursday, March 24th.

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We cannot hope to personify the arguments against Equal Suffrage because none has been adduced. Consideration is restricted sharply to mere objections to the fundamental principle which constitutes the basis of and the reason for the existence of this society. True, there is nothing that is novel in the carping, nor can we detect much that savors of singularity among the carpers; and yet, despite the fact that all efforts on the part of the Society to fetch them face to face have been unavailing, it would be unbecoming in us to ignore what they are supposed to represent. Consequently, it becomes our duty to examine with tolerant spirit all that we can lay our hands upon, namely, the reverberations. The speakers who have preceded me have done their parts so well that familiarity with petty cavilling has indeed bred contempt. But let us not blind our eyes to the truth that only iteration and reiteration can conquer the sodden fires of superstition, bigotry and inertia.

THE VENERABLE TEACHER.

To the ear of recollection sound the objections. Before the vision of mind appear the objectors. Through the mist of studied aloofness they emerge one by one. Behold the venerable teacher bearing bravely his burden of prejudice. He steps forward. With quavering voice he declares that when women carry muskets and fight for their country, then they can vote, but not until then, unless over his dead body. His say is ended. His legs are feeble. Tottering, he resumes his place. But his blow has been delivered, and he rejoices in the self-satisfaction that it has reached a vital spot. Physical capacity to bear arms, the requisite of exercising the franchise. That is the determination, definite and final. Thirty long years ago by his own rule of thumb, his right to vote would have ceased. Under the existing military regulations of the United States, I should have lost mine on the 16th day of last month. By the same prescription three-fourths, at least, of the college professors, teachers, professional men, clergymen, leaders in industry, men of affairs and all others engaged in sedentary occupations would be barred. All who are weak or crippled for whatever reason, feeble in body, however strong in mind, would be disqualified, and the destinies of the nation would be placed confidingly in the strong hands of the prize-fighters, the blacksmiths and the hod-carriers.

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THE STATESMAN.

Steps forward a statesman, we need not mention names—any statesman—a diplomat as well: "When all the women want the vote they should have it. When that time comes, I shall support their demand, but I will not force it upon them." A happy suggestion, an easy solution! Fifty years ago there lived statesmen who took the identical position in a case absolutely parallel. Did the slaves want to be freed? No! If an honest poll could have been taken among all the American negroes in 1860, surely not one-third and probably not one-tenth would have made an affirmative declaration. How familiar to-day would be the assertions that they then would have made! They were sheltered and cared for, as women are now. They did not wish to assume responsibilities, as women shrink from the performance of duties now. They were ignorant, as the most loquacious of women plead ignorance now. Their sphere was the cabin, as it is of women now. They had their lords and masters to do their thinking, to guide them, to save their bodies, their souls and their children, as women have now. Such unquestionably would have been the attitude of a vast majority of those American slaves, if the test proposed to-day could have been made effectually then.

But what of the remaining tenth, whose instincts and aspirations cried out for freedom? Were their hopes and longings to be disregarded because they were in the minority? Was that the position assumed by the American people under the guidance of Abraham Lincoln? To the everlasting glory of this great Republic be it answered, No! There was in the minds of the patriots of that day no thought or suggestion of seeking utterance from the mass of negroes so long as one slave out of millions desired his freedom. Compromise between right and wrong was held to be impossible then. Is it so now? Or are American women beneath the slaves from Africa in the consideration of American men?

THE LADY.

Another, a lady, asks, "But surely you do not wish the bad women to have the vote?" Why not? Because perchance their sphere is the home? But what do you mean by bad women? And with a gulp she answers, "Why, the prostitutes." Oh yes, the prostitutes! Male or female or both? The bad women only, to be sure. So! And then we are asked to view the picture.

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How vivid and frightful it is! When we were children at school, we shuddered at graphic descriptions of trips across the Siberian plains. We shivered in anguish at the plight of the wayfarers as they listened dismayed to the howling of wolves coming nearer and nearer, lapping their chops in keen and hungry anticipation of the prey about to fall into their grasp. But pitiful and heart-rending as were those scenes portrayed to our imaginations, they were as nothing compared to that which we now hear foretold of what will happen when women get the vote. If we are to believe the reverberations which constantly reach and almost paralyze our senses, a great army of abandoned women, regiments of out-casts, brigades of prostitutes are waiting, waiting, waiting only for the word to stream forth like wolves from their lair and rush with frenzied eyes to grasp with eager hands the ballot-box. Truly a dire foreboding!

But has it ever occurred to anybody to inquire what this great army would do when it had achieved its purpose? How would these imagined millions use the ballot? For whom and what would they vote? I ask the lady. Why, for everything that is bad. But how, they being ignorant in common with all women, would they know what was good and what was bad? The answer is as certain as fate. The bad men would tell them. The bad men would tell them. Yes, and make them do it. So in theory, as in practice, wherever equal suffrage has been tried, no "bad woman"—no, not one would ever go to the polls at all unless driven there by a man. Now I am ready to answer the question. Am I willing that prostitutes should have the right to vote? Yes, absolutely and unqualifiedly. As contrasted with the bestial creature, who defames the image in which he was created by trading in human flesh and blood, a thousand times yes. Better that ninety-and-nine depraved women, dragged to the ballot-box by their more depraved master, should vote wrong than that one should be deprived of a single opportunity to vote for the means to save her own poor soul! There never was and never will be a woman in whose breast does not live to her dying day the spark of hope of redemption. I refer you, my lady, to the words of your gentle Christ, spoken to the outcast Mary Magdalene. And I ask all men and all women who take this ignoble position: Why not make the test universal? It is very easy. Let the qualification of voting be, without distinction

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of sex, observance of the seventh commandment! If vice and virtue are to be recognized as determining factors in the granting of the privilege, surely none can deny the fairness of the proposal. And its adoption would serve more purposes than one. It would eliminate vastly more than the ignorant and vicious vote. It would enhance beyond measure the satisfaction of those who oppose equal suffrage, because, forsooth, they prefer restricted suffrage. There can be no doubt as to what the enforcement of this decree would accomplish. It would, indeed, restrict the suffrage. The only danger is that there might not be a sufficient number of men saved out of the wreck to hold the offices.

THE FAIR-MINDED MAN.

Appears the practical man of business, fair-minded, open-minded, professedly broad-minded. Yes, he allows, equal suffrage is right enough theoretically, but how does it work? Has there been any marked improvement where it has been tried? Only facts count with a practical man. And the answer is: Find the facts for yourself. If, as you admit, the proposition is ethically sound, the burden of proof that it is impracticable rests, not upon us, but upon you. We *can* submit the record of results. We have done so. But in truth the obligation is yours. So we say: Find any nation, state or city where equal suffrage has wrought injury to the common weal, find any nation, state or city wherein repeal of equal suffrage, once adopted, has ever been seriously advocated or even proposed; then and not till then will your question of practicability merit consideration. Meanwhile let becoming stillness control your tongue.

But the ignorant vote? Ah yes, the ignorant vote. Too many have the franchise now. Intelligence should rule. Restricted suffrage is the crying need. A property qualification, too! So! Then why is there no such qualification? Why is there no restriction? You have the power. You have had it for more than a hundred years. Why does that which you regard as the gravest menace continue to exist? Are men unable or unwilling to achieve reform? Look ahead! Is the prospect of the next century a whit more encouraging under the rule of men exclusively? Then why not include the women? Surely this condition, so perilous in your estimation, could be no worse. It might be bettered. In any case clearly, after a hundred years

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of futile endeavor, this is your only recourse. Why not, then, accept it like—well, like a man?

But women lack practical knowledge. They are idealists. They lack experience. Even those who own property cannot protect it. True, they cannot. Why? Because the corporation withholds the privilege? No. The corporation is more just than the State. More than forty per cent. of the stockholders of the Pennsylvania Railroad are women. They can and do vote for directors of their company. But when State or nation proposes arbitrary rate reductions or excessive taxation that would sweep away the dividends, who decides? Who has the power? Who elect the men who make the laws? Those who own nearly one-half of the great property? Not they! The Huns who work the mines, the Italians who lay the rails, but not the women who own the shares. A property qualification, did you say? Then let the highly honored State emerge from the darkness of shameful discrimination and stand beside the much-derided corporation in the sunlight of justice, fairness and right.

THE HOME.

But the home! Yes, yes, the sphere, the home, the spherical home, bounded on the north by eating, on the east by sleeping, on the west by praying and on the south by tatting, with the god of petty tyrannies ruling over all. Have you a wife, good man? Does she go to the opera? Stop her. There is danger in the air. She might prefer Wagner while you affect De Koven. She might say so. Heaven forbid, but if not, Heaven pity the dove of domestic felicity! Does she go a-shopping? Bid her cease. She may discover that casting a ballot is no more arduous than "trying on." Does she read the papers and magazines? Burn them. Ideas may enter her head. Does she speak except when spoken to? Refer her to St. Paul! Does she think she thinks? Scowl! Be shocked! Above all, be firm! Place her hand upon the cradle and bid her rock and be content that now she rules the world.

Oh, for the good old days, those happy days of Athens, when wives were locked in darkened rooms and, gnawing, mumbling, beating their poor wings against their cages, were made to understand that isolation is a duty and virtue is its own enforced reward. There was the acme of pagan felicity, the logical and

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perfect development of the lauded, spherical, circumscribed Christian home. What matters that Athens sank into degradation and ruin? Was not the wife protected? Was not the woman fed? Saved from contact with the rude, rough world, her femininity preserved, her glorious dependence established by law and custom, all distractions eliminated, freed from all earthly obligations except to fetch imbeciles into the world, so she could and did exist till Death reached out a merciful hand and bid her hence in happy consciousness of woman's functions well performed.

THE BANKER.

Advances to the centre of the platform, the platform of the Metropolitan Temple, if you please, a banker, a well-known banker, an author, too, of greater or less distinction, a moralist and philosopher, a maker of epigrams, his intellect a depository of jewels of expression, of veritable gems of thought. From the collection we select a few of the most sparkling. Lest their lustre be dimmed by the handling, let us behold them in their untarnished glory, gleaming to the eye, dazzling the imagination. The first:

"Men practically acknowledge that women are their superiors when they raise their hats to them; and in other forms of deference they recognize their superiority and bow to the ladies."

Not of purest ray serene; an amethyst, let us say.

"Look, too, at the hazards, the risks, the physical danger that ladies would be exposed to at public meetings."

For example, here!

"We can easily picture a refined woman, dressed in the height of fashion, saying something in a speech at a public meeting to which some coarse and ignorant woman, or woman of ill repute, might make objection in the most insulting language."

Shocking! shameful! Ah, but listen—

"Worse still might happen, if she made a spirited reply to such a woman, who would, perhaps, not hesitate to strike her and make shipwreck of her costume, with the possible result that she would go home with a black eye, a damaged nose, torn garments and dishevelled hair, and even her hat not on straight, but alas! all awry, a terrible thing for a woman, as every woman knows."

Is it not a gem? A cat's-eye, shall we say?

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"So why should woman seek to enter the foul arena of politics by winning the right to vote? She would do much better, and be much more at home, in winning hearts. In that she is, and always has been, and always will be, unrivalled, and she will be wise to limit her prowess to her own sphere in which she is the undisputed queen."

A sapphire, surely!

"As there is much pitch in politics, I predict that, after due experience, her watchword would no longer be 'Votes for Women!' but rather, 'Home, Sweet Home!'"

A pearl.

"As a married man, and a sincere friend and admirer of the ladies collectively, I advise them all to leave politics and voting, with all their rough-and-tumble work, and battling for the spoils, to men. They—the men—are made of commoner clay than the sirens and ministering angels to whom they raise their hats in acknowledgment of their superiority to themselves."

By all the gods, another amethyst!

"Politics makes strange bedfellows, and in politics all are equal, good, bad and indifferent; and bad women, or women willing to sell their votes, would probably be far more numerous and controlling at all political assemblages, and the polls than good women, if we had woman suffrage. Moreover, the bad and corruptible women would generally be under the control of politicians of the male sex and be quite willing to do their dirty and corrupt work. In politics we cannot choose our company, all citizens having equal rights and privileges, and no one can be excluded from a public meeting."

A handful of black opals, if you please!

"Woman in her own sphere is not merely useful and ornamental, but a blessing. She is an angel in the house, but if she had a vote politics would demoralize her, notwithstanding all arguments to the contrary."

Notwithstanding! Notwithstanding all arguments! The same yesterday, to-day and forever. Shall we say a turquoise?

"A woman's greatest charm, if not her crowning glory, is her modesty, and this should never be sacrificed in any degree for politics, office or anything else. Yet how could she preserve it in the rough-and-tumble strife and tobacco smoke of the often dirty and disreputable politicians she would have to associate

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with? Let woman stick to her natural sphere; let her rejoice in the fact that she is a woman; let her worship womanly standards; let her throne remain firmly established in the home protected by the man of her choice and let her stop aiming to be manly."

A ruby, this, beyond a doubt! But better yet this gleaming Koh-i-noor:

"Woman should be proud of her position as it is and content with being a thing of beauty and a joy forever."

And best of all this "fitting description of her charms";

> "O! woman in our hours of ease,
> Uncertain, coy and hard to please,
> And variable as the shade
> By the light quivering aspen made,
> When pain and anguish wring the brow,
> A ministering angel thou!"

A string, a string of pearls!

Such the gems, the glowing, gleaming gems of thought. Why not, indeed, say sternly, "Notwithstanding arguments" when thus allowed to bask in iridescent dreams?

I may say, in passing, that the talented wife of my good friend, the distinguished banker, is a life member of the Equal Franchise Society.

A LESSON IN CONTRADICTIONS.

So much for the reverberations. Now for a lesson in contradictions! A composite photograph of the objectors is hardly attainable. But a composition of the objections may be attempted. These are the ingredients: On the one hand—

Women would forsake their children to vote.

On the other—

They would not vote at all.

And so on in pairs—

Their political antagonism to their husbands would destroy the family.

They would vote as their husbands vote.

They already exercise greater power indirectly than they could hope to wield directly.

They are not capable of passing upon public questions.

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They now hold a superior position.
They are and should be held subordinate.

They are not equipped to teach.
Their chief duty is to train their children's minds.

They should become experts in governance before seeking the franchise.
Under no circumstances should they attempt to deal with political problems.

They are now accorded equal opportunities to earn their livings.
They ought not to compete with men in the rude world of business.

They are not fitted for holding office.
They are permitted to serve on school boards.

They should be satisfied with the existing enlightened government.
Politics is a mire of corruption.

They are mercenaries.
They are visionaries. ———
They cannot understand or appreciate economics.
Their business is to manage the household and safeguard the expenditures.

They would insist upon holding office.
They would not assume official responsibilities.

Chivalrous men can be relied upon to protect the interests of women of their own class.
Witness the arduous endeavors of sixteen hundred men teachers in this city to obtain "equal pay for equal work" for fifteen thousand women teachers.

They are socialists.
They are individualists.

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They are too ignorant to vote.
They are too wise to want to vote.

And so the wheel goes round and round. Let us pass on.

A VITAL PHASE.

I come now to a phase of this problem which has not been touched upon in these meetings. And yet, from the view-point of actual accomplishment, it is to my mind the most vital. Grant that men's innate sense of justice may in time impel them to recognize the equal governing rights of all women who own property, pay taxes or earn their own livings. Grant that husbands may accord to the wives of others and even to their own the opportunity to vote if the demand shall become general. Grant that fathers may become glad to bestow upon their educated daughters the advantage of participation in directive governance. Grant that the time may come when the scales will drop from the eyes even of those women who now stand doggedly, obdurately, resentfully, pathetically, between their own sex and its righteous emancipation, not only blinding their own eyes, but shutting out the sunlight of equality and freedom from the eyes of those to whom they should be true and loyal.

Remain inertia, indolence, intolerance, products of bigotry, of dogma, of superstition. Religion is the inspiration and the Church is the guide of civilization. But authority is greedy, and men holding it, frocked or unfrocked, are but human; however firmly pledged to truth, no whit less prone to error. And the multitude, as ever since the world began, from sincerest motives, find refuge from disquieting Reason in faithful obedience. Allegiance rendered, millions lave their hands and, yawning, turn their heads, conscience free from duty done. Here lies the stumbling-block, here the mighty obstacle which must be removed to clear the path of enlightenment and of progress.

THE MINISTER.

Steps forward the minister of good intent, the clergyman benighted. Upon what ground does he base his insistence that human beings endowed alike with mind and spirit are and of right ought to be classified as one-half governing and the other half governed? Because God so willed. Authority, the Bible. And the evidence? It is here from Genesis, second chapter!

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"And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and He took one of his ribs and closed the flesh thereof. And the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made He a woman and brought her unto the man."

That is the whole of it. That is all there is. Upon that solitary verse hang all of the arguments, all of the solemn admonitions. Because woman was formed from a man's rib, is descended directly from what the French call a *cottelette,* it was the deliberate intention of the Creator to make her a subject of man, and when she sets up a claim of equality she violates a divine ordinance. That is the reasoning, that the declaration. True, Genesis asserts also or rather asserts primarily that "male and female created He them" absolute equals in the eyes of the Lord; but why consider a mere contradiction? It does not fit the case. Moreover, it cannot be explained, so let it be ignored. The subject sex must be kept in subjugation. So the extracted bone stands as the theological progenitor of all womankind.

Poor Adam! His sons and grandsons to this very day and generation possess all of their ribs. Was his that was taken returned after Eve was made or did he walk through life lopsided, perchance cursing the day when fastidiously he refused to pick a wife from the herd? And poorer Eve! Moulded from a mere spare rib, reared on unripe fruit and destined, through her multifarious daughters, to cringe to the end of time before a creature made of dirt! Yet such, we are assured, was the plain intent of God, the Maker of the universe.

Do you believe it? No. Nor can anybody who has traced the legends to their origins. The first chapter of Genesis says that man and woman were created on a basis of perfect equality; the second that woman was made from the man's rib. If one account is true, the other cannot be; if one version was inspired, the other was interpolated. Which the better withstands the test of research and examination?

THE STORIES OF CREATION.

Ezra, the scribe, compiled the books of the Old Testament during the captivity in Babylon which began only 586 B.C. They comprised the laws, the wonderful legends, the proverbs and the songs which had been transmitted through successive generations by word of mouth and pinpricks upon leather. They contained

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and contain now in modern translations no reference to the story of creation. That was an afterthought. Forty years ago its origin was unknown. Not until the famous inscriptions were unearthed from the ruins of Nineveh by the British Museum in 1872 was the true source of the Biblical account definitely established. Then it was found that Ezra had taken it bodily from the Chaldean tradition. He could not well have done otherwise. The legend had stood the test of incalculable time. The narrations of all great peoples coincided — Aryan, Persian, Parsee, Etruscan, Hindoo—all confirmed the version of the Zend-Avesta and the Bundehesh to the effect that the Ahuramazda first created a single androgynous being with two faces, separated later into two personalities. Here was the source of the Biblical account of the creation of male and female at one and the same time upon a basis of perfect equality.

THE LEGEND FROM TAHITI.

The other came from Tahiti, whose ancient story reads: "Tarao caused the man to fall asleep, and while he slept, he took out one of his ivi, or bones, and with it made a woman, whom he gave to the man as his wife, and they became the progenitors of mankind. The woman's name was Ivi, which signifies a bone." So comes to us not only the early biography, but even the name of our unhappily unwed ancestress.

But why did the scribe Ezra interject this remote and contradictory myth? The answer is plain and significant. The women of Babylon were comparatively free and independent. The women of Israel were absolute subjects, the property first of their fathers and then of their husbands. Then as now the *status quo* was of prime importance. Its maintenance was essential to acceptance of the book. The men of Israel, like some men of to-day, would not part with their paternal authority. So from far-away Tahiti was drawn the law to fit the need. Woman was not made a subject to conform to the tenets of religious faith. Religion was made to conform to the existing subjection of woman. And there the matter stands to this very day.

Why do I dwell upon this circumstance? Why pay attention to mere legends? Why take the trouble to establish the origin or the greater antiquity of either? No question of fact is involved. Nobody now pretends that this tradition is the record of an actual

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occurrence. True. But from the legend is drawn a lesson and the force of that lesson is felt to-day. Justifying the deduction of equality are the beliefs of all of the great, partly civilized peoples of antiquity. Warrant for the theory of subjugation is found in a solitary tradition of barbarism interpolated to supplement the dominance of physical force with the authority of adapted religious faith. To-day no less than at the time of the captivity, the tenets of Tahiti are used to smother as with a pall the aspirations of womankind. To-day as then woman is taught that she sins against God when she seeks the freedom of equality. And thousands and thousands so believe. How vital, then, it is to be able to say and to prove: The story adduced to show God's intent, either through His mode of actual creation or the lessons to be drawn therefrom, to deprive one-half of the human race of their natural rights—that story is without foundation in fact or in enlightened legend.

THE TEACHINGS OF PAUL.

But what of it? asks the clergyman. It is the dictum of the New Testament, not of the Old, that we heed. "Read the fifth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians," was the triumphant declaration of a well-known minister at a recent meeting in this city. "Read the Bible." And we comply. We do read the Bible, but not as he, seeking a segregated monition to fit a case. We read it with understanding. And we inform him at the outset that St. Paul did not write the Epistle to the Ephesians. That might be considered a sufficient answer to his disingenuous demand. But we would not beg the question thus. We prefer to meet it fairly and squarely and submit it to the test of logic and comprehension. The solemn injunction appears in the first Epistle to the Corinthians and elsewhere. We will not now question its authenticity, and its explicitness is obvious. The words are familiar:

"Wives, be in subjection to your husbands."

"The husband is the head of the wife."

"The man is the image and glory of God, but the woman [alas!] is the glory of man [alone]."

"Let the women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but let them be in subjection, as also saith the law. And if they would learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home."

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There is no mistaking Paul's meaning. If his words be accorded a general application, they constitute a decree of virtual enslavement of all women to the end of time. But what was the basis of his admonitions? What reasons did he offer for enjoining the perpetual subjugation of women? Here they are:

"For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man; for neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man."

"For Adam was first formed, then Eve."

"TO GAIN THE JEWS."

So here we are again confronted by the missing rib. The legend from Tahiti is the ground and the only ground for Paul's command to women to be in subjection to their husbands. True, he bids men love their wives and mercifully refrains from ordering women to love their husbands. They are required only to "fear" them. But the point is that Paul's direction cannot be separated from the tradition of the rib. Upon that and nothing else it depends absolutely. If you recognize the one, you must believe the other from which it sprang. No additional authority is cited; none whatever is found in the teachings of Christ; none apparently exists anywhere. Now you can see why the wiser prelates hold fast to the legend of Tahiti, borrowed by Ezra the scribe. Disavow it and you remove the very corner-stone of Paul's injunctions, and the whole structure of implied subjection falls to the ground.

But why did the enlightened apostle accept this version of creation in preference to the better-substantiated account which signified a basis of equality? For the same reason that Ezra incorporated it in the Book of Genesis—to meet an existing condition. Paul was a Pharisee and the son of a Pharisee. He imbibed the doctrines of his sect from youth, and in his works later, as he himself declared, "to the Jews" he "became as a Jew" that he "might gain Jews." So he espoused the legend which conformed to the custom of the Jews. Here again woman was not placed in subjection by an inspired mandate of religion; religion was fashioned to hold her in the subjection which then prevailed and thus, as Paul says, to "gain the Jews."

He went further. He recognized and confirmed the law of Israel which conferred upon a father the actual ownership of his

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daughter as property. To him that "hath power as touching his own will" was accorded absolute authority to give or not to give her in marriage. To give her was to do "well," but not to give her was to do "better." And Paul lauded spinsterhood and belittled motherhood. "Adam," he declared, with unction, "was not beguiled, but the woman, being beguiled, hath fallen into transgression." In that single phrase is the pith of Paul's attitude toward the women of Corinth and Thessalonia. He doubtless was sincere; he may have been justified; the conditions then prevailing may have been such as to require the application of the measures which he adopted. But times have changed. Not what Paul said then, but what Paul would say now deserves the greater consideration.

"Beware of dogs" doubtless was a timely warning to the Philippians, "Drink no more of water" was likely enough good advice to Timothy, but it does not follow necessarily that we of to-day are expected either to shun faithful animals or to drink only wine.

EPISTLE TO THE AMERICANS.

To interpret moral and religious law with understanding and due regard for its application to changed conditions, not to misapply monitions meant only for a certain people at a certain time, is the true mission of our spiritual guides. Paul was the greatest of apostles charged with a mighty task which he nobly performed. Would that God would send to us one equally enlightened as of to-day! Our need is not vain repetition of minute directions to the tribe of Judah or the tribe of Benjamin. Nor can it be satisfied from words addressed to Corinthians or Thessalonians. What we want is an Epistle to Americans, charged with the spirit which made this the land of freedom, which struck off the shackles of the slaves and which some day will enforce recognition of the existence in every human breast of the right of individual liberty subordinate only to conscience and to God.

But "Thus saith the law." Not the law of Nature. No. Before Nature's eyes all stand alike—the multifarious plants, the herbs, the trees, the flowers, the conscienceless animals, male and female, are recipients in equal degree of her beneficent care, of her protection from heat and cold, of safeguarding instinct, of consideration and kindly feeling among men. And even as between humans, Nature draws no line with respect to life, liberty

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and the pursuit of happiness. Ability to achieve, capacity to enjoy and inborn desire to do noble deeds are distributed share and share alike. To neither sex is bequeathed even an approximate monopoly of faith, courage, self-sacrifice or any of the virtues which are held in high esteem. We may not deny the perfect fairness of Nature.

PERSONAL LIBERTY AN INHERENT RIGHT.

Nor, as we have seen, is there the slightest warrant, even in dogmatic legend, for asserting that, in this most important of all relationships, the law of God contradicts the law of Nature. Consequently, the law of Nature, which holds all animate things upon an exactly even basis of perfect equality, must stand. From every conceivable view-point woman's right to participate in governance is inherent, and as such pre-eminent, surpassing all minor prerogatives, transcending all other privileges—a truth as self-evident and as worthy of striving to sustain as is that which constitutes the crux of the American man's Declaration of Independence. Hear what Governor Winthrop said to the Pilgrims:

"There is a liberty of corrupt nature which is inconsistent with authority, impatient of restraint, the enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a Federal liberty, which consists in every one's enjoying his property and having the benefit of the laws of his country; a liberty of that only which is just and good; for this liberty you are to stand with your lives."

Mark the comprehensiveness of the definition and the sharpness of the distinction. The difference is that which lies between incorrigible error and immutable truth, between love of expediency and fealty to principle, between the power of physical force and the weight of noble example. The task of the Pilgrim ancestors was to clear the ground and sow the seed. That of the Pilgrim descendants is to keep the fields free from tares till they shall become, in the words of the beloved disciple, "white for the harvest," and this can never happen while the land dedicated to universal freedom continues to be ruled by a class whose authority is fixed with the unreasoning certainty of a Brahmin caste by the incident of sex.

But should not the governing power be wielded exclusively

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by those who are able to fight for the nation, by the defenders who must and do bear the burdens of strife? That is the final question—the last word from the last ditch.

BETWEEN BARBARISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

All resolves to an issue between war and peace, between barbarism and civilization, between Mohammedanism and Christianity. It seems, in the process of halting development, a cruel test, unjust, remorseless and pitilessly unmerciful. For others I cannot speak. But for myself I accept the challenge. Shall I tell you why? Not many years ago, on one of the rare occasions that come to one whose time is filled, I found myself in the place of my birth, one of those little villages nestling among the hills of New England, one of those tiny cradles of liberty with which you may be familiar. It was in the springtime when the trees were beginning to show the fresh evidences of their life and the dainty buds of Nature were opening shyly to the sunbeams. On the day I arrived the little remnant of that portion of the Grand Army of the Republic had paid fitting tribute to their honored dead. The simple ceremonies were concluded. The beautiful memorial service had been rendered and all had gone when, as the sun was disappearing behind the hills, I found myself in the little churchyard. No stranger even could have failed to appreciate the nobility of the old town as his eyes fell upon the flowers here, there and everywhere, betokening the unwonted number of lives that had been sacrificed upon the altar of unity of nation and personal freedom. No son returning could have failed to feel a glow of pride, tinctured with infinite sadness, that there lay the bones of a greater proportionate number of those killed in that awful war than anywhere else in the whole country.

I stopped by the plain stones upon which were recorded the dates of births and deaths of a family whom best I knew. A father and a son. "Killed in the service of their God and their country for freedom's sake" was the inscription. And upon the mounds rested the wreaths placed that day by the hands of their comrades who yet lived, yet loved, yet revered as brave men do love and do revere the memories of those who have perished in performance of duty. And close to this stone was another, also recording the time when the spirit passed away, but a few months

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later, from her who was the wife of the father and the mother of the son. And with her slept the child. Upon the stone was no inscription, upon the mound there lay no petals of the flowers of remembrance. Not unwept, not unremembered, but unrecognized and—shall I say unhonored?—lay the mother and the child.

WHO BEAR THE BURDENS.

And I wondered as I stood there who do bear the burdens of war? Through the mist of years I could see the happening in that small hamlet at that dread time. I could hear as they heard the thunderbolt of Sumter sounding and resounding among those hills of Vermont. No need to interpret the shock. In that peaceful community, no less than in the capitals and the cities, the message was understood. It was death for the individual or death for the nation. And how splendid the response! I could see the grim, earnest face of that father, the eager eyes of that son when the word came that their country called and slaves demanded freedom. And I could see that dry-eyed, bravely smiling mother holding the child upon her shoulder, that this might be the last image left on their minds and in their hearts as they went away to the war and whatever fate betide.

The imagination could follow them without a blush. They were brave men. Into the clash and crash they went, members of the first brigade, always at the point of greatest danger, possessing courage without limit, hearts without dismay, eager to fight, willing and ready to die for the cause which they considered just and noble.

And turning to the other page I could see the picture in the window I knew so well. I could see the mother, her simple duties done, sitting in the chair upon which as a lad I had climbed, and looking, looking down the village street and waiting, waiting, waiting for the tidings of only what God had willed. In Virginia was excitement, comradeship, possibly glory; but there by the little window was only helpless, patient, anguished waiting in the name of God, for love of country and for freeing of the slaves. One could almost see the eyes of her who sat there begin to fade, almost hear her steps begin to falter while, through the unending days and months and years, she clasped to her bosom the prattling child and taught it the words to plead with the god of battles to save and not destroy. And when came the fateful

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message. Father and son gone forever. Memory only left. Look to the window now from down the village street and fathom, if you can, the depths of one woman's soul as with folded hands and broken heart she looks upon the child.

"HERS NOT TO REASON WHY."

Yes, who bear the burdens of war? Custom answers. Go stand in the churchyard of any village in this great land and read the answer on the stones. "In the service of their God," yes; "In the service of their country," yes; "for freedom's sake," nobly true. Not a word would we erase from that perfect tribute, not a flower would we take from that wreath of honor. But might we not all over the land do on next Memorial Day what I could not help but do on that Memorial Day—gather a few, a very few, wild blossoms from the brookside and place them tenderly upon the resting-place of the mother and child? Inscription? No. She fought in no battle. She bore no arms. No word had she to say, no act to do respecting need or cause. Hers not to reason why, hers but to give—to give all, husband, son, child, the love of her heart, the light of her eyes, the hope of her care; all, all, all that was on earth to make her wish to live. Hers not to reason why, hers but to give and die.

If it be true that God means that His children shall clutch at one another's throats to the end of time, then truly only those who can and love to fight should be permitted to pave the way. If broken limbs should transcend broken hearts, then women's voices should be stilled. But let those who feel thus take their fitting station behind the warring Mohammed. There is for such no place in the footsteps of the gentle Christ. God meant that for some inscrutable reason you women should suffer as you do and as men do. But simultaneously He implanted in every human breast, woman's as well as man's, the right to reason why. And if to-day the spirit of that brave man could speak from the unknown, I cannot but believe that it would say, "Stamp upon a single stone these words, 'For our God, for our country, to free the slaves, we died together.'" And so the words I would leave last in your minds shall be: Not to die in war unless it be a holy war, but to live in peace, in hope, in help to humanity, in love and care of children; so let true men and noble women live and work together.

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expression when serving as Commissioner of Child Labor for the State of Oregon. He is the author of several volumes and a contributor to periodicals.

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was born in Jamestown, Michigan, in 1866. He is a graduate of Albion College in 1891, and received his A.M. degree from this same institution in 1894. He held pastorates in

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different churches in Michigan and New York for twelve years, but in 1904 became Northern Field Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, and in 1907 was made its General Secretary. He has contributed numerous articles on industrial and educational subjects to scientific journals and popular periodicals, and is the editor of all publications of the National Child Labor Committee.

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ALBERT S. BOLLES

is a native of Montville, Connecticut, where he was born in March, 1846. He studied law, and, having been duly admitted to the bar, he was elected judge of the probate court for the district of Norwich in his native State in 1870. Leaving the law for journalism, he edited the "Norwich Bulletin," and later the "Banker's Bulletin." For over four years he was Professor of Mercantile Law and Banking in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy in the University of Pennsylvania; and for eight years thereafter he was chief of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics of the State of Pennsylvania. At present he is connected with Haverford College as Lecturer on Commercial Law and Banking. Among the books published by him may be mentioned an "Industrial History of the United States," "The Conflict between Labor and Capital" and "The History of Pennsylvania."

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MARK TWAIN

NOVEMBER 30, 1835—APRIL 21, 1910

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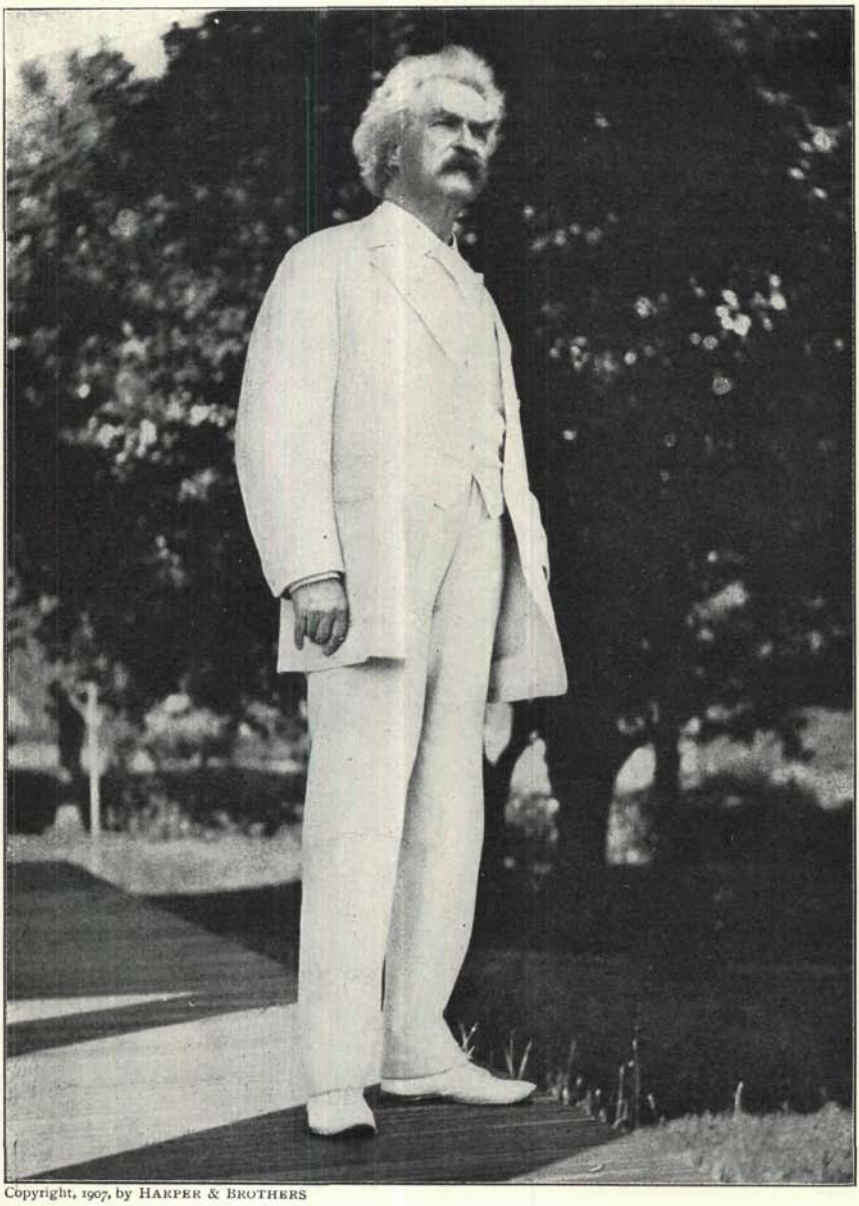

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